THE

GOOD OLD DAYS

OF

HONORABLE JOHN COMPANY,

BEING

CURIOUS REMINISCENCES

ILLUSTRATING

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE BRITISH IN INDIA

DURING THE RULE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY FROM 1600 TO 1858.

WITH BRIEF NOTICES OF

PLACES AND PEOPLE OF THOSE TIMES
&c., &c., &c.

VOL. I.

Compiled from newspapers and other publications

BY

W. H. CAREY.

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TO

His Excellency The Right Honourable
Sir Gilbert John Murray Kynynmond Elliot,

EARL OF MINTO

P. C., G. M. S. I., G. M. I. E., G. C. M. G., etc.,

Viceroy & Governor-General of India

THIS REPRINT OF A MOST INTERESTING AND VALUABLE WORK

IS

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S SPECIAL PERMISSION

DEDICATED

As a Humble Tribute of Gratitude and Veneration

BY

His Excellency's Most Obedient and Dutiful Servant,

T. D. KERR,

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R. CAMBRAY & CO.,

PUBLISHERS, CALCUTTA.

PREFACE.

—:o:—

THE present valuable work had long been out of print and become exceedingly scarce. Owing no doubt to the fact of the three volumes of the former edition not having been published simultaneously, a complete set was very difficult to obtain, and a reprint was in demand. Accordingly we have acquired from the heirs and executors of the late compiler their right, title and interest in the work, with the object of placing it within the reach of antiquarians, students of Indian history, book-collectors and the general public.

The present edition is merely, what it professes to be, a reprint. One or two obvious errors have been corrected by foot-notes, but we have not taken liberties with the text or made alterations in it.

In conclusion we would thank the Hon. Dr. Ashutosh Mukerji, M. A., Mr. C. W. McMinn, I. C. S. (retired), and Mr. E. W. Madge of the Imperial Library, for the kindly encouragement or advice received from them.

6 & 8/2, HASTINGS STREET,
Calcutta, June, 1906.

R. CAMBRAY & Co.

PREFACE.

THE contents of the following pages are the result of researches of several years, through files of old newspapers and hundreds of volumes of scarce works on India. Some of the authorities we have acknowledged in the progress of the work, others, to which we have been indebted for information, we shall here enumerate; apologizing to such as we may have unintentionally omitted:—Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes;* Calcutta Review; Orlich's Jacquemont's, Mackintosh's Travels; Long's Selections; Calcutta Gazettes and other Calcutta papers; Kaye's Civil Administration; Wheeler's Early Records; Malleson's Recreations; East India United Service Journal; Asiatic Researches and Asiatic Journal; Knight's Calcutta; Lewis's Memoirs of Thomas; Orme's History of India. From these we have taken paragraphs, which by the aid of paste and scissors we have thrown into something like narrative from the most prominent events during the rule of the Honorable East India Company in India. We do not aspire to be historians, we simply profess to lay before our readers some curious reminiscences illustrating the manners and customs of the people of Calcutta during the rule of the East India Company.

Our scenes are laid principally in Calcutta, but we have occasionally travelled up-country that we might exhibit life in the mofussil, and in some few instances we have given notices of occurrences in the other presidencies.

Our residence during the time that we have been employed in this compilation, having been far removed from the Metropolis, and our access to newspapers and publications in consequence limited, we have been able to note only a few of

* The first four volumes only.

the events of the times alluded to. But these notes will afford both amusement and instruction, showing as they do how rapidly improvement and progress have been going on, both in the condition and lives of the English in India, and we may add especially of the natives also, during the Government of the East India Company between the years 1600 and 1858.

The work was first taken up as an amusement during the leisure hour, but in the course of our reading, so many interesting records came under notice that it occurred to us, that the present generation might take an equal interest with ourselves in a narrative of events which happened during the two centuries alluded to in Calcutta and India generally.

Like another Herculaneum, that had been buried for ages and afterwards exposed to view to a race unborn at the time of its entombment, the habits and amusements of people which had passed away from the face of the earth are reproduced in the pages we now present to the reader. We seem here to live again among those who were contemproaneous with our great grandfathers, and we can in imagination see a little into their customs and habits, so old fashioned in our eyes as to rise a smile of contempt or ridicule. We see Calcutta before it possessed a single building of magnificence or even of importance, and when the Honorable Company of merchants were only in their infancy, and ruled the country with a jealous eye and iron hand.

With friends of the past we visit spots once of note in the City of Palaces, and in some stations in the upper provinces. We join with them the masque, the ball, the convivial gatherings of those days. We take part in the quaint sayings and conversation of the old and the puerilities of the young. We see around us men whose names have passed down as heirlooms to posterity, and whose good deeds live in the memory of the present generation ; and others whose names indeed have passed to their children, but whose memory is alone marked by pompous

mausoleums in the old Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta. In imagination the morning gazette comes in with our early breakfast, and we pour over the accounts, printed in old fashioned type, of wars, revolutions, riots, elopements, divorces, &c. We take our stand among the men of the Turf. We hear the betting around the Race Stand among men in health and vigor, who are staking as it were their very existence on the chances of the running. We turn and wend our way to the counting-house, and there are witness to the betting of another class of speculators, the exporters of indigo, sugars, silk and other Indian goods, who have staked their all in shiploads of one or more of these articles, and are now in doubt and uncertainty as to what might be the state of the market in England on the arrival of their ventures. The people in India gambled in lotteries then; the Press was gagged and unable to offer an independent opinion. Adventurers were not allowed to land without a permit from the Honorable Court in Leadenhall Street; and those who had licences were not permitted to go more than ten miles distant from Calcutta, without another permit.

We now present the result of our labors to an appreciating public.

W. H. CAREY.

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THE

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CHAPTER I.

FIRST EUROPEAN SETTLERS IN THE EAST.

LOOKED at from a chronological point of view the earliest historical record we have of Europeans in the East is dated B. C. 550, when Scylax is said to have first visited India. He was sent by Darius to explore the Indus, and published an account of his journey, which related to his Greek countrymen many astonishing tales of a traveller. Herodotus, in his short account of India, followed Scylax as an authority. But it was not until the expedition of Alexander (327 B. C.) that a body of able observers, trained in the school of Aristotle, were enabled to give accurate ideas to Europe of the condition of India. Of these writers, Megasthenes is by far the most important. He lived at the court of Chandragupta, at Palibothra, on the Ganges, as an envoy from Seleucus I; and he probably passed some years in India. According to him, the Indian state to which he was accredited, the military force of which consisted of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry and 9,000 elephants, was better organized and displayed more wisdom in internal government and police arrangements than any country in Europe could boast of.

Long before the first English traders landed, the Portuguese had settled in India, had explored some portion of its coasts, had enriched themselves after the manner that a civilised race would enrich itself at the expense of feeble and half civilised races, had enjoyed and abused the advantages they possessed —the advantages of superior knowledge and skill, exerted against races, ignorant of the use of fire-arms, and untrained in military discipline.

Vasco de Gama was the first to brave the stormy passage round that Cape, which had baffled so many previous attempts, and which had then been called the Cape of Storms: and on the 22nd May in 1498, with a handful of equally daring companions, he set foot in Calicut.

Of Calicut, where the Zamorin, the successor of the Tamari Rajahs, once lived in legal splendour, but few traces of its old magnificence are now left. The once capacious haven has been drifted up by sand. Its great Brahminical monastery is in ruins: and to the traveller viewing it from the point from which it had first been seen by the followers of Vasco, nothing is discernible beyond a few lines of huts shaded by cocoanut or palmyra trees. Twelve years later the forces of Albuquerque plundered the town and burnt the palace of its kings.

By a series of bold exploits the Portuguese had extended their settlements from the Coast of Malabar to the Persian Gulf; and a century had not elapsed, when they had achieved fresh conquests, had explored the Indian Ocean as far as Japan, and adventurers had astonished Europe with the story of gigantic fortunes rapidly amassed. It was not long after, that the example thus set by Portugal was followed by the other European states; and English, Danish, and French factories rose alongside of the factories built by the Portuguese.

The first European factory established in India was formed by the Portuguese at Calicut under Pedro Alvarez Cabral, in

1500. The first European fortress was also erected in that place by the same nation, commanded by the famous Alphonso de Albuquerque three years afterwards, or in 1503.

Goa, on the Malabar Coast, was captured by the Portuguese under Albuquerque in 1506. The strong fortress on the island of Diu was built by the Portuguese in 1535. It sustained two memorable sieges in 1537-38 and 1546, respectively, but was captured by the Arabs in 1668, when the Portuguese power in India had already begun to decline.

In 1530 the Portuguese captured the town of Surat.

For more than a hundred years after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco de Gama, the profitable traffic of the Indian seas was monopolised by the Portuguese. Other nations being too weak to dispute their pretensions to oceanic sovereignty were compelled to purchase Indian merchandize at Lisbon, which city consequently soon became one of the richest and most populous of European capitals.

When, however, the Spaniards discovered another passage to India by the Straits of Magellan, they claimed the special sovereignty of the new sea road and endeavoured to prevent ships of all other nations from floating on those waters. So strong was their opposition for a time that the English endeavoured to discover a new road for themselves by way of a north-eastern, a north-western or even a northern passage directly over the pole, to India.

War broke out between the Portuguese and Dutch at the end of the sixteenth century, in which the latter proved the stronger, and supplanted the Portuguese in their Indian trade and chief settlements.

The Dutch, while subject to Spain, contented themselves with purchasing Indian merchandize at Lisbon. But upon the revolt of the Netherlands and the creation of the United

Provinces, they determined upon wresting from their former masters the profits arising from the Indian trade.

In 1580 the Spanish and Portuguese dominions were united under the Spanish crown, and the Dutch were excluded from all trade with Lisbon, and their ships confiscated, and owners imprisoned. One of the captains, while in prison, obtained from some Portuguese sailors a full account of the Indian seas, and on his return home so stirred the hearts of his countrymen by relating what he had heard, that they immediately fitted out eight vessels for the East; four fully armed were to sail round the Cape of Good Hope and the rest were to attempt the north-eastern passage. The latter merely discovered Nova Zembla; the former reached Java, and notwithstanding the most strenuous opposition offered by the Portuguese then established at Bantam, managed to open up trade with the East. In 1598 four separate fleets were fitted out for the East, and from this time the Dutch seem to have firmly established themselves in the East Indies.

They were scattered all over this country early in the seventeenth century, and Bernier, writing from Delhi, under date the 1st July 1663, says: "The Dutch have a malt factory in Agra, in which they generally keep four or five persons;" and further on he mentions "the Dutch establishments at Bengal, Patna, Surat or Ahmedabad."

In 1752 the Dutch had a factory at Baranagar, situated about five miles to the north of Calcutta, which was considered as an Indian Wapping; soldiers deserting and sailors leaving English vessels, were accustomed to escape to this settlement, where under the Dutch flag they were safe from arrest.

There was once a factory called the Bulramghur Factory, situated at the entrance of the Balasore river, the ruins of which are yet to be seen buried in deep jungle.

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMPANY IN INDIA.

Of the many changes which have taken place in India, none have been fraught with so many great results as that which has placed under British rule the teeming populations of this great empire, the race of the builders of Ellora, and the rock-excavated temples of Elephanta and Mahavellipore, and the heirs of the great Mogul.

The history of India during that early period, when the first intercourse of the British nation with India commenced, must always be interesting. We shall endeavour, therefore, to record those events—half political, half commercial—which ended in the establishment of the first Company on a durable basis.

At no period of British history had the love of maritime enterprize been so great. The spirit of commerce, once fairly roused, began rapidly to develop itself. Trading companies were formed. The successes of Cabot, of Vasco de Gama, and Albuquerque, had fired the imagination, and excited the cupidity, of the English nation. Private gentlemen offered to accompany the expeditions then manned as volunteers. English nobles mortgaged their estates, and sold their plate to equip small fleets of their own.

So early as the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., efforts were made to reach India by a north-eastern passage. Thorne, an English merchant, who had lived nearly all his life in Seville, returned to lay his project of a north-west passage

before Henry VIII. The great object was then, if possible, to effect a passage to India by a route which would enable the English to trade with India without giving umbrage to the Portuguese. Sir Hugh Willoughby endeavoured to discover a passage to the East Indies, and sailed to Norway, but was met with a storm so severe at the North Cape, that his boldest mariners quailed, and with his entire crew was wrecked off the shores of Lapland. Martin Frobisher manned a pinnace and two boats, and ardently endeavoured to discover a passage by steering north-west through Hudson's Bay. A few years later, Captain Davis with greater success sailed further north, and gave his name to the straits which he had discovered. Most of the voyages had been unsuccessful; but the hopes once entertained of reaching India by sailing west were never abandoned, and were at a later period destined to meet with success.

Two events tended to hasten the formation of a Company for India. One was the memorable voyage of Sir Francis Drake from Plymouth to Java, by the Pacific Ocean; the other was the equally successful voyage, by the same route, of Thomas Cavendish.

Both Francis Drake and Cavendish made the voyage round the world; both had proved themselves to be naval commanders of no ordinary type. But to Sir Francis Drake must undoubtedly belong the honor of having been the first Englishman, and the first British naval commander, who had succeeded in making that remarkable voyage.

The son of a clergyman, Francis Drake early evinced his love of daring adventure. In 1567 he sailed with his kinsman, Sir John Hawkins, to the Bay of Mexico. Three years later, he commanded an expedition to the West Indies. Subsequently we read of him sacking the town of Nombre de Dios. It was then he fancied he discovered, from an elevation on some high range of hills, glimpses of that great ocean which divided India from America. He returned to obtain the royal permission to

equip a fleet and lead an expedition which would, for boldness of design, have vied with that of Magellan. After cruising about the western coasts of America, and after having taken much plunder, he left America to sail across that apparently illimitable ocean on which but one ship had as yet ventured.

The passage was a fortunate one. Land was at last reached. The intrepid sailor landed, and learnt that the island was called Ternate, one of the group of the Moluccas. In this visit was laid the foundation of the commercial intercourse from which influences so vast should subsequently spring. Drake was received by the king with pleasure. He was shown over the island, introduced to the court, invited to the palace.

At the time when Drake's vessel anchored at Ternate, the sovereign of that island was at enmity with the Portuguese, who had settlements in Java, and who had already been enriched by the commercial relations which had been established between them and the islanders of Malaysia, or the Malayan Archipelago. This island, the most valuable of the Malacca group, was then governed by a king who ruled also over seventy other islands. Those islands were then, as they are now, famed for their trade in cinnamon, cloves, ivory, and horns.

Sailing southwards, Drake's attention was attracted by a chain of hills on one of the adjacent islands; and landing, he was struck with the wondrous fertility of the island of Java. Java had not yet attained to the celebrity it subsequently did as a model Dutch settlement.

As at Ternate, the palms and cocoanuts, the thick vegetation, and the tropical foliage, added to the interest of the scene; and prolonging his stay for a few days, Drake set sail steering for that passage by the Cape, then exclusively claimed by the Portuguese, but which subsequently was destined, for nearly half a century, to be the high road of the commerce between the East and the West.

The crew of the vessel commanded by Drake found that the navigation of the Cape of Good Hope was not so dangerous, the seas round the Cape not so tempestuous, as they had imagined; and after a voyage, which was protracted over a space of two years and ten months, they had the good fortune of anchoring safely in Plymouth Sound.

If the expedition of Sir Francis Drake was successful, that of Thomas Cavendish to the East Indies was not less so. On the 21st July 1586, he set sail for the East with three vessels. He crossed the Atlantic, committed some depredations on the American coast, captured a rich Spanish frigate, visited the islands of the Indian Archipelago, touched at one of the Ladrone Islands and at Java, and after effecting an exchange trade with the natives of those islands, returned by the Cape to England, and anchored at Plymouth.

The results of these two expeditions fired the genius of the English nation, and led to the coalition of the company of merchant adventurers who first undertook to lay the scheme before the public of trading on an extensive scale with India.

On the last day of the 16th century, the London East India Company was formed at the house of Alderman Goddard, or Founders' Hall, where the parties assembled determined upon measures to equip certain vessels "upon a purely mercantile bottom."

Some four or five years before the death of Akbar (A. D. 1600) Queen Elizabeth granted a charter with certain privileges to a company of London merchants, just at the time that the Dutch East India Company was established, whose first attempt to trade on the Malabar Coast was nearly coincident with the arrival of the London Company's first ships at Surat.

The privileges conceded to the London Company enabled them to purchase lands without limitation, and to have a monopoly of trade for fifteen years with the East Indies.

In the year 1600, the consent of the Government was obtained to equip a fleet of five ships for an Indian voyage.* Captain James Lancaster commanded the fleet; and thirty-six factors, on salaries varying with their different trusts, accompanied it. On the 2nd of May, 1601, the vessels set sail from Torbay. After a prosperous voyage they landed at Acheen in Sumatra. The natives were tractable, and readily entered into a treaty of commerce; and for such articles or implements of iron ware as Lancaster's crew had with them, they offered in exchange those natural products of their island—pepper and benzoin, cassia and camphor, aloes, spices and fruits. Amicable arrangements having been concluded, the vessels set sail for Java.

Captain Lancaster delivered his letters, and, leaving an agent behind, returned in 1603 to England, after making a considerable percentage of profits for his employers, the East India Company of adventurers.

In the year 1600 John Maidenhall, a merchant, was deputed to the court of Akbar. No records are left of the results of that embassy beyond the fact that he obtained a firman, was well received at court, and that he returned in a few years to England, but that subsequently revisiting India he died at Agra.

It was during the reign of Jehangeer, that two missions were sent from England to his court: the first by the East India Company, conducted by Captain Hawkins, for the purpose of opening up a commercial intercourse with India; the second by the celebrated Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador from King James I. Hawkins after much difficulty arrived at Agra on the 16th April 1609, and being able to speak Turkish was most favorably received by the Emperor, who subsequently insisted on his marrying a young Armenian lady. He succeeded in

* It is curious to note the names of the five vessels which first sailed for India. They were the *Scourge*, the *Susan*, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and a pinnace.

obtaining the royal promise for an unlimited extension of the English trade; but being opposed by a violent party, the Jesuits, then possessed of great influence at the Mogul court, was at the end of two and-a-half years obliged to quit Agra, without having effected any of the objects of his mission.

The only advantage resulting from Hawkins' voyage was the promise alluded to respecting the establishment of a factory at Surat on the Bombay coast.

In 1612 only one ship was sent to the Indian seas.

The establishment of a factory at Surat was eventually effected by a daring mariner named Best, who despite the impediment and resistance offered him by the Portuguese, boldly proceeded in 1611 to the promised settlement; upon which the Emperor gave a firman that provided for the residence of an English plenipotentiary at Surat, and an authority for his countrymen to trade fully, openly and without impediment.

Best, being as shrewd as he was determined, well knew that this concession was produced more through fear than any other cause, and therefore determined to avail himself of so favorable an opportunity, and demanded and obtained a ceremonious acknowledgment of his rights from the native authorities. He thereupon established the long desired factory; and having accomplished this returned home in 1613, having laid the foundation of a sure and profitable trade.

The first impressions of Surat were not calculated to impress the English favorably with the wealth and the civilisation of India. Nearly half a century later, Tavernier,* in that

* Tavernier was born at Paris in 1605, and died at Moscow, 1689. He travelled through Persia and Turkey and India six times. His large fortune, with which he purchased the barony of Aubonne, was acquired in the East. The burial ground attached to the old Church of Surat, indicates the last resting place of successive generations of the servants sent out by the East India Company to administer its affairs in the provinces adjoining the Taptee.

pleasant and graphic style which makes his travels so readable and interesting, described Surat as "a town with a wretched fort, with dwellings built of mud which resemble barns, shut in by reeds dabbed with wattle and mud." A century later, in manufacturing and commercial prosperity it rivalled Bombay, when Bombay had not yet attained to political or maritime importance.

Best was ably succeeded by Captain Downton, who upon his arrival at Surat in 1615, found but three factors, as they were then termed, who had been appointed by his predecessor; intrigue or interest had caused the dispersion of the remainder. Downton's measures produced much animosity towards him from European interests, and considerable native injustice. These, coupled with the unhealthiness of the climate, caused his death in the ensuing August. He was a vigorous and talented man, and perfected the arrangement connected with the factory, or as it was then termed "the English house," which he placed under the management of a head factor named Kerridge.

A curious illustration of the rapid growth of an Indian town might be found in the rise of Surat. In 1530, when the Portuguese had first captured the town, its population was estimated at 10,000 only. In 1638 (1538), that population had increased to 133,544.

In the year 1657, so greatly had the town increased in importance, that the East India Company ordered that the administration of all its possessions should be placed under the direct control of the president and council of Surat.

Until 1614 all transactions with native powers had been carried on by the Company's agent, but it was now resolved to try the effect of a royal mission, and Sir Thomas Roe was deputed as ambassador to the court of the Emperor Jehangeer. He sailed from Gravesend on the 6th March 1615, and arrived

at Surat on the 26th of September. Thence he proceeded to Boorhanpore, where he was graciously received by the governor of the province. After a short residence with that prince, Sir Thomas advanced to the royal residence at Ajmere. He reached that city on the 23rd December, but did not obtain an audience of the monarch till the 10th January, 1616.

The object of this embassy was twofold: (1) to arrange a definite treaty; and (2) to recover a large amount of money alleged to be owing by the courtiers and ministers of the Emperor.

On delivering the royal letter sent by the English sovereign, the Mogul Emperor received Sir Thomas Roe with as much consideration as it was in his nature to bestow on any ambassador; he offered to redress some of the grievances complained of, and ratified a treaty by which he conceded to the English nation the right to establish factories and to trade with any part of the Mogul empire, Surat and Bengal especially.

At his court Sir Thomas remained four years, and after successfully overcoming many impediments thrown in his way, he returned, having recovered all bribes, extortions and debts, from the courtiers and ministers of the court, and further obtained permission to establish another factory at Baroach.

The curious and interesting account left by him of the court and camp of the Great Mogul, forms one of the most important accessions to works on oriental literature and oriental politics. During his residence in the East, he made some valuable collections of ancient manuscripts, among which must be classed the Alexander MS. of the New Testament.

The vessel that conveyed Roe to his destination, was commanded by a "General" Keeling, who endeavoured to found a factory at Cranganore, but failed in his efforts, the factors availing themselves of the first favorable opportunity of escaping with their property to Calicut, where was established the

factory, whose looms soon obtained an European celebrity, and which they retained, until British skill and capital removed the seat of manufacture from India to Manchester.

The feeling of jealousy engendered by the concession alluded to above on the part of the Mogul Emperor, was not allowed to remain long dormant. Open hostilities were soon commenced by the Portuguese, whose fleet burnt the town of Baroach. Another fleet commanded by the Portuguese Viceroy in person anchored off Swally. The naval engagements which followed, proved disastrous to the prestige which the Portuguese had already acquired; and the Mogul court, without offering any interference, looked with pleasure on the checks thus given to an enemy whose encroachments, and whose power they had alike learnt to view with anxiety, if not with dismay.

For several years after Best, Downton and Roe, we have no authentic documents upon which reliance can be placed; but this much is certain, that debauchery and peculation of the most flagrant character usurped the place of good government in Surat. The oldest despatch of the factory is dated July 26th, and it affords little information; but from other sources we learn that the Company's agents were then negociating with the Emperor of Golconda for an extension of their trade to Hindostan. Surat at this period had become a position of considerable importance, and was destined to be the point of radiation, whence the commercial spirit of Britain should thrust forward its then infantine powers.

About the year 1636, Methwold, who was president at Surat, returned to England, and was succeeded by Fremlin, and the latter by Francis Benton, whose monument in the cemetery at Surat bears testimony to his exertions, and declares, that "for five years he discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity." Then followed Captain Jeremy Blackman, whose appointment is dated 1651.

Dr. Fryer, a surgeon in the Company's service, visited Surat in 1674, when the English factories were in their zenith. The factors lived in spacious houses and in great style. The salary of the president, according to Fryer, was "£500 a year, half paid here, the other half reserved to be received at home, in case of misdemeanor to make satisfaction, beside a bond of £5,000 sterling of good securities. The accountant has £72 per annum, £50 paid here, the other at home. All the rest are half paid here, half at home, except the writers, who have all [been] paid here."

Surat was governed by a Company's "agent" till the restoration of Charles II., when a president was sent out. At this time the Surat Government employed "forty sail of stout ships to and from all parts where they trade out and home; manning and maintaining their island Bombay, Fort St. George and St. Helens." The last agent at Surat was named Rivinton; he was succeeded by President Wynch, who lived only two years, and was succeeded by Andrews, who resigning, Sir George Oxendine took his place, and continued to hold the office till his death. It was during his presidentship that Sivajee plundered Surat. He was succeeded by the Hon'ble Gerald Aungier, who fought against Sivajee and repulsed him.

In 1615 a piece of ground was obtained at Armegaun, from the Naik or local chief, and a factory built thereon, which in 1628 was described as being defended by "twelve pieces of cannon and twenty-eight factors and soldiers."

The English having a valuable trade on the Coromandel Coast, were desirous of obtaining a territory which they could fortify. After several ineffectual attempts to obtain such land from the Moguls, they at length succeeded in buying a piece from a Hindu prince, the Rajah of Chindragheri, which was afterwards called Madras. This was in 1639. For the strip of land (six miles long and one mile wide) the English paid an annual rent of £600. There was a small island in the strip

facing the sea; this was fortified by a wall and fortress, to secure the residents against the predatory attacks of native horsemen. In granting the land to the English the Rajah (Sri Ranga) expressly stipulated that the English town should be called after him, Sri Ranga Rajapatanam. The grant was engraven on a plate of gold. The English kept the plate for more than a century; it was lost in 1746 at the capture of Madras by the French. On the Naik of Chingleput coming into power, he ordered that the town should be called China-patanam; this name the English afterwards changed to Madras. To this day, however, the natives call it by the old name of China-patanam.

In 1653 Madras was raised to the rank of a presidency.

Little or nothing is known of Madras in those early days previous to 1670. In 1672, however, we find Madras was an important place. The government was carried on in the same way as at Surat. The governor drew a yearly salary of £300; the second in council £100; the third £70; and the fourth only £50. Factors were paid between £20 and £40. Writers received only £10, and apprentices £5. But all were lodged and boarded at the expense of the Company.

Sir William Langhorn was governor of Madras from 1670 to 1677, and when he retired, he was succeeded by a gentleman named Streynsham Masters. In 1683 Mr. William Gyfford was made governor. At this period Mr. Josiah Child was chairman of the Court of Directors.

About 1688 there was a great change in the fortunes of Madras. The Sultan of Golconda was conquered by Aurungzebe and consequently the English settlement of Madras was brought under the paramount power of the Great Mogul. During the following ten years, there were great dissensions between the Mahrattas and the Moguls. In 1706 Daood Khan became Nawab of the Carnatic. Mr. Thomas Pitt was governor of Madras.

In 1636 the Emperor of Delhi, having a beloved daughter seriously ill, was informed by one of the nobles of his court, of the skill exhibited by European practitioners of medicine, and was induced to apply to the president of Surat for aid in his extremity. Upon this Mr. Gabriel Boughton, surgeon of the ship *Hopewell*, was directed to proceed to Delhi, and render his professional services. "This he did with such success, that the imperial favors were liberally bestowed upon him, and in particular he obtained a patent, permitting him to trade, without paying any duties, throughout the Emperor's dominions." The benefits of this concession would probably have been very doubtful, had his good fortune not followed him to Bengal, where he cured a favorite mistress of the Nawab, who in gratitude confirmed all his privileges, which were thus employed:—"The generous surgeon did not in his prosperity forget his former employers, but advanced the Company's interests, by contriving that his privileges should be extended to them. Having done so, he wrote an account of his success to the factory of Surat, and the next year a profitable trade was opened in the rich provinces of Bengal."

The natural advantages of Bombay did not escape the notice of the Company, who hoped to gain possession of it as early as 1627. "In that year," writes the Rev. Mr. Anderson, "a joint expedition of Dutch and English ships, under the command of a Dutch General, Harman Van Speult, had sailed from Surat with the object of forming an establishment here, as well as of attacking the Portuguese in the Red Sea. This plan was defeated by the death of Van Speult, but in 1653 the President and Council of Surat again brought the subject under the consideration of the Directors, pointing out how convenient it would be to have some insular and fortified station, which might be defended in times of lawless violence, and giving it as their opinion that for a consideration, the Portuguese would allow them to take possession of Bombay and

Bassein." This suggestion, which was submitted to Cromwell, remained unacted upon. But in 1661, the Portuguese Government, upon the marriage of the Infanta Catherina with Charles II., ceded the long-wished-for island to England as the Infanta's dower. Accordingly a fleet of five ships, under the Earl of Marlborough, arrived in the Bombay harbour on the 18th September of that year, to take possession.

But the Portuguese were unwilling to resign a place so richly endowed by nature, and refused the English demands. Marlborough, not having the means of reducing the place, was compelled to leave the island and return to England. After Marlborough's departure the Portuguese permitted Cook (who commanded the few soldiers remaining of the body that had been brought out,) to occupy the place, but subject to most humiliating terms. The government being dissatisfied with Cook's proceedings, Sir Gervase Lucas was appointed, in 1666, in his room, who soon brought the Portuguese into good behaviour, but he died on the 21st May of the following year. He was succeeded by Captain Gary.

The island not having proved commensurate with the expectations of the king, he made it over by royal charter to the Honorable Company, "in fee and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich, upon payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold on the 30th of September in each year." On receipt of the copy of the charter in 1668, Sir George Oxenden, then president of Surat, was appointed governor of Bombay. The island was soon found to be of importance, its military strength was increased, and fortifications built to guard the harbour and the settlement.

In 1672 the island was invaded by the Siddees, a powerful and dangerous neighbouring people, whose depredations were after a time put a stop to by force and arrangement.

Some idea of the absurdities of the times may be drawn from the pomp with which the president used to move about.

The Rev. Mr. Anderson, from whose work these details are obtained writes:—"He had a standard-bearer and body-guard, composed of a sergeant and a double file of English soldiers. Forty natives also attended him. At dinner, each course was ushered in by a sound of trumpets, and his ears were regaled by a band of music. Whenever he left his private rooms, he was preceded by his attendants with silver wands. On great occasions when he issued from the factory, he appeared on horseback, or in a palanquin, or a coach drawn by milk-white oxen. Led horses with silver bridles followed, and an umbrella of state was carried before him." This pomp and extravagance the Directors wisely strove to check, and they distinctly informed their president that it would afford them much greater satisfaction were he to suppress such unmeaning show and ostentation. And the more effectually to compass their wishes, they reduced his salary to three hundred pounds a year, and dignified him simply with the title of Agent.

The expense of fortifying Bombay not having been covered by the revenue, the Company became burdened with debt, and determined to reduce the number of their military, and consequently the entire "establishment was reduced to two lieutenants, two ensigns, four sergeants, four corporals and a hundred and eighty privates. No batta was to be paid the detachment at Surat; the troop of horse was disbanded, and Keigwin, its commandant, dismissed the service."

Keigwin, who was a man of energy and decision, forthwith went to England, and remonstrated against such unjust and impolitic proceedings, and made such an impression on the Court of Directors that he was invited to return and lend the aid of his experience to the Company in their embarrassed position. He immediately complied, and would doubtless have arranged everything satisfactorily, but to his chagrin, in twelve months after his return, he found the Home authorities had revoked a portion of his official control, and reduced his pay to

a miserable pittance. Disgusted with such treatment, and having a strong public sympathy, he declared his secession from the Company and that the inhabitants of Bombay were subjects only of the King of England. In this declaration he was supported by the majority of the residents. "When the intelligence reached England that Bombay had revolted and the president had not been able to reduce it to order, the King commanded the Court of Directors to appoint a Secret Committee of Enquiry. Upon their report His Majesty sent a mandate under his sign manual to Keigwin, requiring him to deliver up the island, and offering a general pardon to all except the ring-leaders. It was further declared that if Keigwin and his followers offered any resistance, all should be denounced as rebels and traitors."

At the same time are ward was offered for Keigwin and his associates. Harsh measures were however rendered unnecessary by the immediate recognition of the King's authority by the whole of the population. Keigwin having obtained a promise of free pardon for himself and supporters, surrendered the island to Sir Thomas Grantham on the 12th November 1684. "Such was a revolt which happily began and ended without bloodshed. Alarming as it was and dangerous to the existence of Anglo-Indian power, it forms an episode in our history of which we are not ashamed. Keigwin emerges from the troubled sea of rebellion with a reputation for courage, honor and administrative capacity: on the other hand, the clemency of the Crown and Company is worthy of all admiration." Some few cases of hardship were doubtless experienced, but upon the whole it was a bold sedition, nobly forgiven and terminated in a juster treatment of the officials, without compromising the integrity of the Company.

Upon the suppression of Keigwin's rebellion, Sir John Wyburn was despatched as deputy governor to Bombay. But John Child, the governor, finding the new deputy too

independent to lend himself to the perpetration of the various schemes of aggression which had been concocted by Sir Josiah Child and his brother Directors at home, means were employed for depriving Wyburn of his appointment; but fortunately he did not live to experience that mortification.

The aggression here referred to was the first attempt on the part of the Company to exercise authority over or dictate terms to the native rulers. With this intent Bombay was ordered to be fortified as strongly as money could make it, and "the Court of Directors pompously announced that they were determined to make war, not only on the Nawab of Bengal, but in the sequel, upon the Emperor himself. Nor was this sufficient," says the writer from whom we have quoted; "they actually ordered their general to seize the goods of the King of Siam, Bantam and Zombi as reparation for injuries received."

The Emperor Aurungzebe naturally became indignant at these threats, at several piratical acts of the English on the coast of Bengal, and still more so when he learnt that his governor at Surat had been insulted by the British authorities. Upon demanding from Child some explanation, the latter instead of entering on such, in his turn made numerous demands from the governor of Surat, who, thereupon on the 26th December, 1688, "seized and imprisoned the factors, Harris and Gladman, and ordered all the goods of the Company to be sold, and offered a large reward to any one who would take Child, dead or alive." The general having failed by negotiation to obtain the release of Harris and Gladman, now exhibited his real character, and captured several native ships, besides forty vessels laden with provisions for the Mogul army. Besides which he behaved with great arrogance to his admiral the Siddee, "and told him plainly that if his fleet ventured to sea, he would assume their intentions as hostile and deal with them as enemies." Instead, however, of carrying out this threat, and adopting means for securing the safety of Bombay, he merely acted upon the defensive.

"With an unaccountable infatuation the English governor had neglected to strengthen the fortifications of Bombay, although the Court of Directors had so urgently reminded him that this was necessary; and on the 14th February, 1689, the Siddee landed at Sewri with twenty or twenty-five thousand men, and at one o'clock in the morning three guns from the castle apprised the inhabitants of their danger. Then might be seen European and Native women rushing with their children from their houses, and seeking refuge within the fort. Next morning the Siddee marched to Mazagon, where was a small fort mounting fourteen guns, which the English abandoned with such haste, that they left behind them eight or ten chests of treasure, besides arms and ammunition. Here the Siddee established his head-quarters, and dispatched a small force to take possession of Mahim fort, also deserted. The following day the enemy advanced, and the general ordered Captain Penn with two companies to drive them back, but he and his little party were defeated. Thus the Siddee became master of the whole island, with the exception of the castle, and a small tract extending about half a mile to the southward of it. He raised batteries on Dongari Hill, and placed one within two hundred yards of the fort. All persons on whom the English authorities could lay hands were pressed into their service."

Thus passed the months from April to September; and provisions ran scarce; but when the monsoon was over, "the Company's cruisers, being able to put to sea, were so successful in capturing vessels and supplies belonging to the Mogul's subjects, that distress was alleviated." Still the danger was imminent. The Siddee's army had been increased to forty thousand fighting men, and the English troops which never amounted to more than two thousand five hundred, dared not venture to meet them in the field.

Child now perceived that negotiation was his only resource, and that the most abject submission would alone assuage the

Emperor's wrath. He accordingly despatched two envoys, named Weldon and Novar, to the Mogul court. They were treated with the utmost indignity, and after much suffering were admitted to the Emperor's presence as culprits, with their hands tied behind them. He listened to their entreaties, and at length consented to an accommodation, on condition "that all monies due from them to his subjects should be paid; that recompense should be made for such losses as the Moguls had sustained, and that the hateful Sir John Child should leave India before the expiration of nine months." Thus terminated this unfortunate act of bombast, by which the Company, both in money and reputation, was a severe sufferer, as well in England as in India.

Harris, who with several other factors had been released after great sufferings, succeeded to the presidentship of Surat and governorship of Bombay. He was a weak, incompetent person, and was soon relieved of his appointment by Annesley Vaux, who after two years' service, was himself dismissed for violating the law against interlopers. In 1692, Captain (afterwards Sir John). Goldesborough was appointed Commissary General with absolute powers. His death in 1694 afforded an opening for the appointment of Sir John Gayer, a man of good character and ability, but whose efforts were frustrated by events beyond his control.

The conflicts between the old and new Companies now commenced, and were carried on with unflinching tenacity. Mutual opposition ensued, and after severe losses on both sides, a compromise was eventually effected. The new Company managed to secure the services of Waite, Pitt, Mather, Annesley and Bourchier, who had been servants of the old Company; they were men of great experience and integrity, and now embarked zealously in the establishments of their new employers. To the secessions were added in 1699, those of Mewse and Brooke, much to the consternation of the president,

Sir John Gayer; and this defection was speedily followed by the arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as president of the new Company, on the 11th January, 1700.

Gayer would not acknowledge Waite's authority, and for some time the greatest confusion reigned between the contending parties. This continued till the 28th of December, when Waite, incensed at Gayer's contumacy, determined "to strike a blow, which, it was hoped would be fatal to the old factory. This was no less than the seizure, in February 1701, of Sir John and Lady Gayer, several factors, their wives, children, soldiers and servants—in all one hundred and nine persons, who were kept in confinement for upwards of three years."

The following is an account of the state of the garrison of Fort St. George on the 1st September 1746:—

Europeans in Madras garrison, as by the muster rolls, 300.

Deduct—Portuguese sentinels, vagabond deserters from the military and ships at Goa, the worst men in the world for the service at that time	23
Lewis Caldirra, a sentinel, a country Portuguese ...	1
Anthony DeCruz Rollier, ditto	1
Jacob DeRozario and Michael DeRozario, two drummers, slave-boys	2
Hannibal Julian, a black sent from England ...	1
Luke Scheilds, a Fleming, in prison for corresponding with the French, and assisting the prisoners to escape	1
Adrian Miller, deserted	1
Sergeants upon the rolls, not in the service ...	3
Sentinel, ditto	1
Leaving men in garrison	266

Deduct—In the hospital, as by the Surgeon's monthly report of September 1st, 1746, and his certificate ...	34
More who ought to have been there, old men and boys, at least	32
Remains, exclusive of the twenty-three Portuguese first mentioned, Europeans, supposed to be good and effective, British subjects and foreigners, including commissioned officers	200

CHAPTER III.

THE COMPANY'S COMMERCIAL OPERATIONS.

At the commencement of the Company's commercial operations in India, the trade was not extensive; but small as the Company's power to trade was, limited as their means were, the profits were nevertheless large. It was not uncommon to make 100 per cent. of profit on their capital; and in some cases it even exceeded that percentage. The extensiveness of the profits made it desirable that a stricter monopoly of trade should be secured by charter. Thus, on the accession of Charles, on the renewal of the charter, one of the provisions enacted that any Englishman found trading without a license might be seized, imprisoned, and returned to England. Such was the commencement of that policy which for more than a century influenced the Government of India. That it was a policy which was not productive of large permanent results may well be doubted; for it was a policy which was based on the restrictive regulations of a monopoly, and not upon those of a liberal or colonial trade.

The early history of the East India Company's trade shows how successful that policy proved in the beginning. That great dividends had been obtained, there cannot be the slightest doubt. From the debates in the Houses of Parliament, from the journal of the House of Commons, from the many pamphlets which were published at that time on the statistics of the trade with the East Indies, those gains might have been said to be almost incredible. In the year 1676, so large had these been, that every shareholder and stockholder of the old East India Company was paid a premium which doubled the stock he held. The dividends rose proportionately. Twenty per cent. was not considered too high as an annual dividend. The Directors of

the old Company soon amassed enormous wealth; rapid fortunes were made, and speculations ran high. It has been said that more than one wealthy merchant on the Royal Exchange hazarded the greater part of his fortune in East India shares.

In the city of London, a large edifice, not so stately as the subsequent house in Leadenhall Street, or so magnificent as the pile of buildings which now look down on Saint James's Park, was engaged by the Directors. The rooms were gloomy, the passages narrow. At present the India House might vie with any of those majestic buildings, with the exception of Buckingham Palace and the Houses of Parliament, which surround it. Nevertheless in those dingy offices, for many years the great business of the Company was carried on. Treaties were signed with eastern potentates ruling over vast territories larger than many of the continental states of Europe, and war commenced or peace concluded, with native chiefs governing races, semi-civilised it is true, but exceeding in numbers twenty times the population of England.

The old traditionary and commercial policy of the East India Company is now as much a thing of the past as the old building in Leadenhall Street with its quaint façade of the Elizabethan period, and its still quainter figure-head and sign. From the period of the Mutiny in 1857, we have drifted from an old into a new state of things. There has been a fusion of the Indian into the Imperial Government. The Indian army has become a part of the Imperial army. Even the departments of the old India House have merged into departments of the great Imperial establishment.

The new administration required a building worthy of an Imperial office, and that it has one worthy in every way as a state office for a great empire, will not be doubted by those who have visited the present building. The architecture is as imposing when viewed from outside as its decorations are

graceful inside. The large tower, the graceful façade as viewed from Charles Street or the Park, the Doric columns and pilasters of the lower storey, the red Peterhead granitic Ionic columns of the second storey, the bases of the columns of red Mansfield stone, its long line of corridors and graceful Corinthian cornice, have placed this building among the most graceful of modern architectural structures. Nor is the interior less worthy of admiration. The grand staircase leading up from the Charles Street entrance, has four of the finest statues which the old East India House could offer. Leading from the entrance may be seen Flaxman's well known statue of Warren Hastings. From it the eye may easily wander to the admirably sculptured statues of Wellesley, Wellington, Clive, and Eyre Coote. Nor are there wanting bas-reliefs. Representations of Indian fruits and flowers may be seen among the architectural ornaments, while some striking incidents in Anglo-Indian history appear in bold relief—The signature of the treaty of Seringapatam—The surrender of the arms of the Sikh chiefs—The grant of the Deccan to Clive, and the Reception of the Ambassador deputed by Queen Elizabeth at the Court of the Mogul.

It is curious to note that not only the old statuary which had decorated the East India House in Leadenhall Street, but also much of the old furniture, is still retained at the new India Office. The Secretary of State still sits in that chair from which, years ago, the Directors of the old East India Company thanked Clive and Hastings for the great and distinguished services rendered by them in the East.

At the time, however, of which we are writing, the Company's office in the city of London was small and unpretending; and its trade-returns during the first decade, though highly promising, bore no comparison to its future magnificent proportions.

But to resume. It was not long before a rival Company started into being; and the two companies obstructed each

other; injured each other; maligned each other. And the character of the nation suffered in the eyes of the princes and people of India. The establishment of the new Company in Dowgate, which held its sittings in Skinner's Hall, at first proved nearly fatal to the interests of the trade with the East Indies. But the old Company had wisely predicted that such a contest could not last long, although they did not foresee the manner in which it would be brought to a close.

In 1636 Sir William Courtend obtained from Charles I. a license to engage in the Indian trade, and forthwith Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney were despatched to Surat, on behalf of the new Company of Merchants trading to the East. The president and council of Surat at first opposed the assumption of these gentlemen, but were at length obliged to yield on the receipt of a communication from the Secretary of State. From this time until the year 1650, the spirit of contention embittered the officers of both corporations, which militated against their working to advantage. A compromise was effected between them, and the two companies, sinking their animosities and making arrangements about their stocks, were consolidated into one; and in the year 1702 the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies" was prospectively incorporated under the Great Seal.

Matters were finally concluded, and an agreement was entered into by the two companies on the 29th September 1708, and a new governor with the title of general was elected, and a council for Bombay—Aislabie being the general, with Proby, Rendall, Goodshaw, Wyche, Mildmay, Boone and Oakley as members of council.

Whilst the affairs of the two associations were being wound up, preparatory to their practical incorporation as one joint stock, all sorts of outrages were committed. There was no law, there was no decency. The revenue fell off. The administration was at a stand-still. They were evil days for the dignity

of Indian adventure. But when in 1709 the United Company were fairly in operation—a brighter day began to dawn, the trade of the Company revived, and their administrative affairs recovered something of order and regularity.

The union of the two Companies is an epoch which properly closes the early history of the British in India. From this time the United Company commenced a new and wonderful career; past struggles had left it in a state of exhaustion; its advance was at first feeble and tardy. But it never receded a step, never even halted. Movement imparted fresh health, and it acquired strength by progress.

From this time, up to the eventful day when Robert Clive, "in the heavy turban and loose trousers of a Mogul," escaped from Madras to Pondicherry, and turned his back for ever on the drudgery of the desk, no very noticeable events, bearing upon the progress of English government in India, present themselves for specific mention. But great events were now hurrying the English into an open manifestation of national power, and their territorial possessions, from obscure farms, were fast swelling into rich principalities.

Clive and his little army appeared before Fort William, and the power of the Soubadar of Bengal was broken by a handful of English strangers. The French, who had been contending with us for the European mastery of the southern coast of India, had taught us how to discipline the natives of the country, and we had learned that these hireling troops would be true to the hand that gave them their salt.

The first great battle ever fought by the English in India, placed Bengal at our feet. In a little while, the Dewannee or administration of the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, with all their wealth, was placed at our disposal by a power no longer able to stem the irresistible tide of European domination; and territorial revenue now began to take a substantial place in the considerations of the East India Company, and to attract the delicate regards of the Crown.

CHAPTER IV.

ANCIENT CALCUTTA.

The Portuguese, Dutch, French and English merchants had long resorted to India for honorable trade and lawful gain; communities of each of these nations had been established on the coasts and received such protection as could be given by the rulers of the land, who, though themselves probably despising the peaceful arts of commerce, were not blind to the advantages they should derive from this enterprising spirit in others. The principal portion of the cargoes returned to Europe consisted of silk and cotton manufactures. Agencies or factories were established for the collection and storage of these products, against the arrival of the ships, so that cargoes should be ready to be at once shipped. Unhappily it was needful to protect these European factories, not only from the violence of native marauders, but from the aggressions and attacks of rival companies of other European nations. The French and English companies in particular long kept up an arduous struggle; and aided by their respective governments, carried on senseless animosities and destructive quarrels. And as there was a French factory at Chandernagore on the Hooghly, not many miles distant from the English Factory at Fort William, the nucleus of Calcutta, and a Dutch factory at Chinsurah, on the same river, only two miles from Chandernagore, there might seem to be additional need that the English should place and keep their own factory in a state of defence.

This was the origin of the English Factory on the banks of the Hooghly. It was fortified and had a small garrison for its defence; around the fortified factory was gradually gathered a number of houses which were occupied by peaceable European

merchants and traders, and the huts of natives who were employed by the Europeans or traded with them.

Another small factory had been established by the English at Cossimbazar, a town on the Hooghly, more than a hundred miles higher up the country, and close to Moorshedabad, the capital of the Mohamedan sovereign of three large and fair provinces in the plains of India.

A writer in 1756 thus speaks of Calcutta :—"The bank of the Hooghly was lined on either side of the Fort, with large and handsome houses, built and inhabited by the chief among the English factors ; and in the rear were several equally large and imposing habitations belonging to opulent Baboos, or native merchants ; but the native town consisted of thatched huts—some composed of mud, and others of bamboos and mats, all uncouth and mean ; the streets were dirty, narrow and crooked, whilst a pestilential swamp, close at hand, filled the air with sickly exhalations." The tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee, then contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw ; a jungle, abandoned to water-fowl and alligators, covered the site of the present citadel and the course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta.

In April 1686, a new charter was granted to the Company, confirming all their former privileges, and further empowering them to erect courts of judicature, to exercise martial law, and coin money at a mint of their own.

In 1699 the villages of Chuttanuttee (or Calcutta) and Govindpore were granted to the Company. Sir Charles Eyre was sent out as chief agent in Bengal, with instructions to build a fort, which in honour of the reigning monarch, was called Fort William. But at this time Bengal held the lowest place in the scale, and was subordinate to the presidency of Madras. In 1681-82 Bengal was established as a distinct

agency, with instructions to communicate immediately with the Court of Directors. This arrangement did not however last long. The chief agent, who had been sent out directly by the Court, mismanaged affairs and misconducted himself; and Bengal was accordingly brought back to its old subordination to Madras. About the same time Bombay was constituted an independent settlement, and in 1685-86 it was erected into the chief seat of British power in the East Indies, whilst Surat, with a subordinate agent and council, was reduced to a factory.

In the year 1715 the English settlements in Bengal were erected into an independent presidency under the name of the presidency of Fort William; and about ten years afterwards a mayor's court was established at Calcutta, which had become the chief place of our trade in that part of the world.

The records of the Mayor's court (says Kaye) contain some curious illustrations of the morals and manners of the early settlers, and of the natives, Portuguese and Indians, who clustered round them at the presidency. The people in whose cases they adjudicated were for the most part public or private servants of the settlers themselves, or people connected with the shipping in the ports.

The court carried on all kinds of business. It was at once a civil, a criminal, a military and a prerogative court. It proceeded with remarkable promptitude and despatch, from the proving of a will to the trial of a murderer; from the settlement of a dispute regarding the sale of a slave girl, to the punishment of a drunken trooper or an extortionate witch. Flogging was the usual remedy prescribed. It was one of general application, and fell with the greatest impartiality on all offenders, old and young, male and female alike.

An attempt was made to levy a duty of 5 per cent. on the sale of Europeans' houses. A Captain Durand firmly refused to pay the duty unless obliged to do so by decree of the Mayor's court. But Captain Durand was not alone in the opposition,

the levy of the duty "created universal clamour," and hence the Court in 1757 thought it advisable to relinquish it, "as we do assure you and in course all the inhabitants of Calcutta, that we have a tender regard to their ease, and do therefore consent that the said duty be laid aside. At the same time," continued the Court of Directors in their despatch, "we cannot avoid taking notice of the insolent behaviour of Captain Durand as tending to such a contempt of our authority as ought never to be borne. Your denying him therefore the Company's protection was a very proper measure, more especially as we know of no licence he has ever had to reside in any place in India." Holwell proposed in Council that Captain Durand should get twenty-four hours notice to leave for England, though he had large concerns in trade; but the Council decided that he should be sent home with the ships of the season. At this period the Company refused to allow Mr. Plaistead, a civil servant, to return to Bengal after going on furlough to England, on account of "a turbulent temper and unbecoming behaviour, lessening the Government in the eyes of the whole settlement."

It may be interesting to note the salaries given to the covenanted servants of the Company at that time (1757):—Hon'ble Roger Drake, Esq., received £200 per annum; Chaplain, Rev. Mr. Cobbe £50; Senior merchants £40; Junior merchants £30; Factors £15; Doctors £36; Writers £5 per annum. These salaries were paid every six months. All servants, however, had other perquisites, and hence the delay in the receipt of their salaries was not so inconvenient. Private trade was generally indulged in, and this brought in far more profitable returns than their regular allowances.

The English factory was first founded therefore before the year 1690, and a considerable town had sprung up around it. But very few features of old Calcutta can be traced in the modern city. The sites of some of the principal buildings are known, but only to the antiquarian.

The oldest of several old epitaphs in Calcutta is, most fittingly indeed, that of the founder of our "City of Palaces,"—the venerable Job Charnock, who is succinctly described by Orme as a man of courage, without military experience, but impatient to take revenge on a Government, from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment, having been imprisoned and scourged by the Nawab. Captain Hamilton, who was travelling in this country at the time that Charnock was living, says that he was harsh in the extreme in his treatment of the natives, which may be ascribed to the sufferings he had undergone at their hands.

He could not, however, have been very rigorous with *all* natives; for the beautiful young Hindoo widow, whom he rescued as she was about to become *Sati*, and appropriated to himself, he appears to have tenderly loved whilst living, and according to Captain Hamilton, deeply lamented when dead, sacrificing a fowl, it is said, at her tomb on every anniversary of her death as long as he lived, which would appear to show that she must have become a Moslem when she was cast out from the pale of Hindooism; and this is likely enough, for the natives prefer to belong to any caste rather than to none. The incident alluded to is said to have occurred on the banks of the Hooghly about the year 1678.

On another epitaph, said to be found several years ago in the same place, on the tomb-stone of "Joseph Townshend, a Pilot of the Ganges," this romantic episode in the life of Charnock is most quaintly related. Although that tomb-stone bears a date subsequent to the seventeenth century, the 24th June 1738, yet, as it relates to Charnock, and is on the whole most curious, we ought not to omit it here. The poetic effusion for it is in doggrel verse, proceeds in this wise:—

"I've slipped my cable, messmates, I'm dropping down with the tide;
I have my sailing orders while ye at anchor ride,
And never, on fair June morning, have I put out to sea,
With clearer conscience, or better hope, or heart more light and free.

Shoulder to shoulder, Joe my boy, into the crowd like a wedge !
Out with the hangers, messmates, but do not strike with the edge !
Cries Charnock, 'Scatter the faggots ? Double that Brahmin in two !
The tall pale widow is mine, Joe, the little brown girl's for you.'

Young Joe (you're nearing sixty) why is your hide so dark !
Katie has fair soft blue eyes—who blackened yours ? Why hark ?
The morning gun. Ho steady, The arquebuses to me ;
I've sounded the Dutch High Admiral's heart as my lead doth sound the sea.

Sounding, sounding the Ganges—floating down with the tide,
Moor me close by Charnock, next to my nut-brown bride,
My blessing to Kate at Fairlight—Holwell, my thanks to you,
Steady !—We steer for Heaven through scud drifts cold and blue."

Previous to 1684-5 the trade of the Company in Bengal had been subject to repeated interruptions from the caprice of the Viceroy and the machinations of his underlings. The seat of the Factory was at Hooghly, then the port of Bengal, which was governed by a Mahomedan officer, called the Fouzdar, who had a large body of troops under his command, and possessed supreme authority in the place. The Company's establishment was therefore completely at his mercy, and their officers had no means of resisting exactions or resenting insult. The Court of Directors, thus constantly reminded of the disadvantages of their position, naturally became anxious to obtain the same freedom from interference in Bengal which they enjoyed at Madras and Bombay, where their settlements were fortified and the circumjacent lands were under their command. They accordingly instructed their president to demand of the Nawab, and, through him, the Great Mogul, a grant of land where they might establish warehouses and erect fortifications.

While this demand was under consideration, the oppression of the native government brought matters to a point. The *pykars* or contractors, at Cossimbazar, were a lakh and-a-half of rupees in debt to the Company's agents, and refused to furnish new supplies for the investment without a fresh advance of half a lakh of rupees. Charnock refused to comply with the demand. The contractors appealed to the Nawab, who decided

in their favor. Charnock however still remained firm; and a very exaggerated representation was sent to the Emperor of the refractory behaviour of the English. All their trade was at once stopped, and their ships were sent away half empty.

When intelligence of these events reached England, the Company communicated it to James the Second, and that monarch sanctioned their resolution to go to war with the Great Mogul, and to establish themselves by force in his dominions. They accordingly sent out a large armament, consisting of ten ships, of from 12 to 70 guns, under Captain Nicholson. Six companies of Infantry were sent at the same time. The orders of the Directors were that their officers should take and fortify Chittagong with 200 pieces of cannon, and make it the seat of their commerce, and that they should march up against Dacca, then the capital of Bengal, and capture it—wild ambitious schemes which were never carried out, or indeed commenced.

A part only of the fleet arrived at Hooghly; but while the president was waiting for the remainder, an affray was caused by three soldiers on 28th October 1686, at Hooghly, which brought on a general engagement. Nicholson bombarded the town, and burned 500 houses, and spiked all the guns in the batteries; and the Fouzdar begged for an armistice, to gain time. During the truce, the Company's officers reflected upon their position, in an open town like Hooghly, and resolved to abandon it. Instead, however, of obeying the orders they had received from home of proceeding to Chittagong, they retired to Chuttanuttee, a little below the Dutch factory at Barnagore, where they landed on the 20th November 1686, and the English flag was for the first time planted in the spot destined to become the capital of a great empire.

The history of the subsequent year is obscure, owing to the loss of the vessels which took home the despatches; but we gather that the Mahomedan general soon after arrived

at Hooghly with an army, and that the Company's agents construed this into a breach of the armistice, and proceeded forthwith to plunder Tannah, and every place which lay between it and the island of Ingelee, which they took and fortified. Though our troops began to die by scores of jungle fever, on that fatal island, Charnock obstinately continued to occupy it. Not long after he burned Balasore, and captured forty Mogul ships. Notwithstanding these injuries inflicted on the Mahomedan power, Charnock appears to have applied to the Nawab for an order to re-establish the out-factories of Cossimbazar and Dacca, and for the cession of Oolooberya, sixteen miles below Calcutta, and in this he was successful.

Meanwhile, the Court of Directors sent out the most peremptory prohibition of any compromise with the native government, and repeated their resolution to maintain the war with vigor. They accordingly despatched a hot-headed man, of the name of Heath, in command of the *Defiance* frigate, with a hundred and sixty men, either to assist in the war if it still continued, or to bring away their whole establishment if a truce had been made with the enemy. Heath arrived in 1688, and sailed to Balasore roads; and though a firman had arrived for the re-establishment of British commerce on a favourable footing, he landed his men, stormed the batteries of Balasore and plundered the place. He then embarked the whole body of the Company's servants, and sailed across the bay to Chittagong, opened a negotiation with some Rajah in Arracan, and without waiting for his reply, sailed away to Madras, where he landed the whole of the Company's establishment. Thus this premature attempt of the Company to obtain a footing by force in Bengal, and to maintain their position by the terror of their arms, ended in the entire loss of their commerce and the abandonment of all their establishments in the province.

The year 1737 brought with it a great calamity. The *Gentleman's Gazette* of that year says :—" In the night of the

11th October 1737, there happened a furious hurricane at the mouth of the Ganges, which reached sixty leagues up the river. There was at the same time a violent earthquake, which threw down a great many houses along the river side; in Golgota (*i. e.*, Calcutta) alone, a port belonging to the English, two hundred houses were thrown down, and the high and magnificent steeple of the English church sunk into the ground without breaking. It is computed that 20,000 ships, barques, sloops, boats, canoes, &c., have been cast away; of nine English ships then in the Ganges, eight were lost, and most of the crew drowned. Barques of sixty tons were blown two leagues up into the land over the tops of high trees; of four Dutch ships in the river, three were lost, with their men and cargoes; 300,000 souls are said to have perished. The water rose forty feet higher than usual in the Ganges."

We may note here some of the localities of ancient Calcutta which do not now exist.

Opposite the Tiretta Bazar stood the house of Mr. C. Weston (after whom Weston's Lane was named). When he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large green, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds by its liberal-hearted owner. Mr. Weston here gave away Rs. 1,600 monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death, he left one lakh of rupees as a fund for the benefit of the needy.

In the "Consultations" of Government, dated 20th November 1752, the following appears:—"Perrin's Garden being much out of repair and of no use to any of the Covenanted servants, *agreed* to sell it at public outcry on Monday, 11th December next." Perrin's Garden, Mr. Long tells us, seems to have been what the Eden gardens are now—the promenade of Calcutta, But for Company's servants only! It was sold to Mr. Holwell for Rs. 2500.

The old Government House at Police Ghat, after the erection of the new abode for the President on the restoration of Calcutta from the Mahomedans, was turned into a Bankshall, or Marine yard, and at the ghat in front of it, a dockyard was constructed in 1790 for the repair of pilot vessels; but it was disused and filled up in 1808.

The "Bread and Cheese Bungalow" is mentioned in an auctioneer's advertisement, in 1802, as being "situated in Dihie Entally, Mouzah Sealdah, on the right hand side of the road leading from Calcutta to Balliaghaut, on the salt water lake." On this spot stood afterwards a police choukey. The whole of the ground now has been taken up by the railway station of the Eastern Bengal Railway.

In 1757 a Jail stood on the spot where the Lall Bazar and Chitpoor roads cross each other. After the taking of Chandernagore, the French prisoners then captured were confined in this jail. On the 18th December, 1757, these prisoners made their escape by digging under the walls. As late as the present [nineteenth] century the ground near it was used for public executions.

The burying ground which was situated in the middle of the town, was ordered in September 1766, to be no longer used as a place of sepulture, and a new cemetery was chosen in a more convenient situation. This was the site on which the cathedral or the present St. John's church was built. Probably over 12,000 corpses had been interred in this burying ground, since 1698.

The old Council House, which stood in Council House Street, was pulled down in the early part of 1800.

Hammam Lane or Warm-Bath Lane was somewhere close to Clive Street. In this lane was a house, west of the Police Office, where were warm-baths, from which the lane took its name.

The space between the Fort and Chandpal Ghat was formerly occupied with the Respondentia Walk, and adorned with trees, few of which now remain.

Wheler Place was named after Mr. Wheler, the President of the Council, in 1784, and formed part of what is now known as Government Place, West. From it issued a lane called Corkscrew Lane, leading to Fancy Lane.

King's Bench Walk ran along the Strand, where the Bank of Bengal afterwards stood; it was to the west of the old fort.

Theatre Road, [or rather Street] not the present road of that name, was at the back of Writers' Buildings, and took its name from the Theatre, which stood at the north-west corner of Lyon's Range.

Halber's Street issued from Circular Road, some distance to the south of where Jaunbazar joins it.

Ford Street proceeded eastward from Chowringhee, over what is now called Sudder Street.

Price's Street was named probably after Captain Price of the Hon'ble Company's Marine; it led from the Strand some distance to the south of the old fort.

From an advertisement (in a paper of July 1792) of a house to let, we learn that the said tenement was situated in *Bond Street* (formerly Old Post Office Street.) As the latter name and street exist, and the former name has passed into oblivion, we must suppose that the street which had been christened "*Bond*," reverted to its old name of "Old Post Office Street."

Omichund's Garden, now Hulsee Bagan, was the head quarters of Suraj-o-dowlah in 1757. Omichund was the great millionaire of his day, who by his influence could sway the political movements of the Court of Moorshedabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor for providing the

Company's investments, and realised more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than regal magnificence. Most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him. In 1757 the ground to the east of Omichund's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when the English troops, under Clive, marched in a fog through Suraj-o-dowlah's fortified camp.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the south corner of Sealdah, is the site of the house which formed the Jockey Club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen, when in former days they went tiger and boar hunting in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum.

In 1740 the Mahrattas invaded Bengal. They laid waste the country from Balasore to Rajmahal, and finally got possession of Hooghly; the wretched inhabitants took refuge in Calcutta, and the President obtained permission to surround the Company's lands with a ditch, to extend from the northern portion of Chuttanuttee to Govindpore. The Mahratta Ditch was dug in 1742, to protect the English territories, then seven miles in circumference; the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of the Mahrattas, who the year before invaded Bengal to demand the fourth part of the revenues which they were said to be entitled to by treaty with the native rulers. The ditch was commenced at Chitpore Bridge, but was not completed as the panic from the anticipated invasion had subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Meer Jaffer Ally, the latter agreed to give up to the English "The Mahratta Ditch all round Calcutta, and six hundred yards all round about the ditch; the lands to the southward of Calcutta, as low as Culpee, should be under the government of the English Company." The country on the other side of the ditch was at that time infested by bands of dacoits. When the Marquis Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, the "deep, broad Mahratta Ditch" existed near the present Circular Road. It was then

commenced to be filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. "The earth excavated in forming the ditch," says a writer of that day, "was so disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably high road, along the margin of which was planted a row of trees, and this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part about town." Another writer states with reference to this road in 1802:—"Now on the Circular Road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the opulent, during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation." In 1794 there were three houses in its length of three miles. As a means of defence, the ditch was worthless, especially with a small garrison; and for that reason, probably, it was not used by the English during the attack of Suraj-o-dowlah in 1756.

Near the Old Court House, or as we should now say, near St. Andrews' Church, in the north-west corner of Lyon's Range, stood the Theatre,* which in the siege of 1756 was turned into a battery by the invading army, and annoyed the fort very much. The theatre was generally served by amateur performers. A ball-room was attached to the building. "Asiaticus" gives us some humorous remarks on the dancing there:—"The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead."

Soon after Ibrahim Khan was appointed to the Government of Bengal, he sent two invitations to Charnock to return with

* This is an error. The Theatre which was turned into a battery during the Siege of 1756 was the *Old* Playhouse which stood at the S. W. corner of Lal Bazar. The Calcutta Theatre, "in the N. W. corner of Lyon's Range," was not erected until 1775. (See article in the *Statesman*, October 22, 1905).

the Company's establishment. He at length accepted the offer and landed at Chuttanuttee with a large stock of goods; and on the 27th April received a firman in which the Emperor (Aurungzebe) declared, "that it had been the good fortune of the English to repent of their past irregular proceedings," and that he had given them liberty to trade in Bengal without interruption. In 1691, we find Charnock residing in Chuttanuttee with a hundred soldiers, but without either storehouses or fortifications. He died the next year in January. His name is inseparably associated with the metropolis of British India, which he was accidentally the instrument of establishing; but there does not appear to have been anything great or even remarkable in his character.

On the death of Charnock, Sir John Goldsborough came up from Madras to Chuttanuttee, where he found everything in disorder, and none of the Company's servants in the factory worthy of being entrusted with the charge of it. He therefore called Mr. Eyre up from Dacca, and appointed him the Chief. In 1694-5 the Court of Directors gave orders that Chuttanuttee should be considered the residence of their Chief Agent in Bengal; and directed that two or three adjoining villages should be farmed.

In 1696-7 happened the rebellion of the Burdwan Zemindar, Sobha Sing, and all the districts to the east of the river from Midnapore to Rajmahal, were for a time alienated from the government of the Viceroy. The foreign factories were threatened with exactions; and the French, Dutch and English Chiefs solicited permission to throw up fortifications for their own defence. The Nawab gave them a general order to provide for their safety, and they eagerly seized the opportunity of strengthening the works which they had previously erected by stealth. Such was the origin of Fort Gustavus at Chinsurah, Fort William in Calcutta, and the French fort at Chandernagore.

In 1698-9 the Chief at Chuttanuttee received a *Nishan* or order from the Viceroy of Bengal for "a settlement of their right at Chuttanuttee, on the basis of which they rented the two adjoining villages of Calcutta and Govindpore." When intelligence of this event reached the Court in London, they ordered that Calcutta should be advanced to the dignity of a Presidency; that the President should draw a salary of Rs. 200 a month, with an additional gratuity of Rs. 100; that he should be assisted by a council of four members; of whom the first should be the Accountant; the second the Warehouse Keeper; the third the Marine Purser, and the fourth the Receiver of Revenues. It was in this year, and under this new organization that the fort, which had now been completed, was called Fort William.

An extract of a letter from Jugdea, near Dacca, dated 16th November, is given in the "Consultations" of the 4th December, 1752:—"That as the time of the Mugs draws nigh, they request us to order the pinnace to be with them by the end of next month for the safe conveyance of their cloth, and a chest of good powder, with a lanthorn or two." The Mugs were aborigines inhabiting the hills near Chittagong. Like the Highlanders they levied their black mail in their annual raids, infested the Sunderbund channels, and sometimes extended their piracies and plunderings as far as Budge-Budge. the Portuguese were at times their partners in their forays, which caused such terror, that about 1760 a chain was thrown by the Calcutta authorities across the river below Garden Reach, to prevent their vessels from coming up.

Commerce seems, notwithstanding the disadvantages of position, to have grown up early, and with it the usual accompaniment of luxury. In the letters of the Court of Directors, we find frequent complaints and reprobations under this head, and in 1725, Mr. Deane, the President, is severely reproved for having charged "rupees eleven hundred for a

chaise and pair" to the public account, which sum he is ordered immediately to refund. "If our servants," say the Directors, "will have such superfluities, let them pay for them."

Despite of reprimands, however, habits of expense continued, and in 1731, we find "the foppery of having a set of music at his table, and a coach and six with guards and running footmen," charged against both the President, and "some of inferior rank;" and as if this were not enough, it is broadly hinted that "wherever such practice prevails in any of our servants, we shall always expect that we are the paymasters in some shape or other."

The Court had, in 1754, signified to the writers their orders that they should "lay aside the expense of either horse, chair, or palankeen during their writership"; the writers, thereupon, petitioned "to be indulged in keeping a palankeen for such months of the year as the excessive heats and violent rains make it impossible to go on foot without the utmost hazard of their health, which would be subjected to many kinds of sickness were they obliged to disuse their palankeens." The Calcutta Government supported their petition, which was agreed to.

In a despatch to the Court, dated 7th December, 1754, the Government note the arrival of several writers, whom they had stationed in the offices mentioned by the Court;—and "*Agreed*," the despatch continues, "that the servants, covenanted, and military officers be advised of the Company's orders with relation to their due attendance at church, and required to give due obedience thereto. *Agreed*, that the covenanted servants be in future recommended to a frugal manner of living and attend the several offices from 9 to 12 in the morning, and in the afternoon when occasion be, that our business may be more punctually carried on."

CHAPTER V.

CALCUTTA BESIEGED, 1756.

ABOUT 1742 a successful revolution had placed the vice-royalty of the great provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar in the hands of a successful adventurer, of Afghan race, named Ali Verdi Khan. Nominally this ruler held sovereignty under the Great Mogul of Delhi, but in reality he was an independent and absolute monarch; for the Mogul Empire had fallen, never to rise again—its power was departed, and the prince who was seated precariously on its throne, retained only the semblance of royalty.

Under Ali Verdi's auspices the British factors and their servants, both at Calcutta and Cossimbazar, dwelt in prosperity and safety. Ali Verdi, being aged and childless, had adopted the son of one of his nephews, named Mirza Mahomed, or Suraj-o-dowlah, who was of a crafty, treacherous and cruel disposition, traits which soon showed themselves after the death of Ali Verdi. Ali Verdi's Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief was Meer Jaffer.

The subordinate government of Dacca had been administered by an uncle of Suraj-o-dowlah, who had died a short time before Ali Verdi Khan. His dewan or treasurer, not deeming his family or his property safe in Dacca, sent them away under the care of his son, named Kissendass, who solicited and found a temporary refuge in Calcutta. This gave offence to Suraj-o-dowlah, who endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade Ali Verdi Khan that the English were actuated by hostile feelings towards him. The death of Ali Verdi, on the

9th April 1756, leaving Suraj-o-dowlah to pursue his own course, he addressed a letter to the President of Calcutta, requiring that Kissendass should be delivered up to him; but this letter, which reached Calcutta on the 14th April, was forwarded in a manner so extraordinary as to warrant suspicion of its authenticity. The bearer, disguised as a pedlar, came in a small boat, and on landing proceeded to the house of a native, named Omichund, by whom he was introduced to the British authorities. The British Council appear, on this account to have viewed the alleged communication from Suraj-o-dowlah with increased distrust, as a contrivance of Omichund to give himself importance; and the messenger was accordingly dismissed without an answer.

On the return of the messenger Suraj-o-dowlah at once made preparations to attack the English, and on the 22nd of May 1756, sent 3,000 of his soldiers to invest the Fort of Cossimbazar. On the 1st of June Suraj-o-dowlah himself made his appearance before the fort with 30,000 men.

Our countrymen were ill prepared to meet his attack. They had originally come to Bengal only as merchants, and their fort was designed for the protection of their commerce, not for resisting the power of the princes of the country, to whose haughty sufferance they were indebted for their highly prized right to dwell and traffic in the land.

But, for whatever purpose designed, their fort was now in disrepair. Arrangements to restore and strengthen it had been for years under consideration, but had been frustrated by the sickness or death of the engineers charged with the important duty.

On the 4th June the fort was given up and plundered. The soldiers, who formed the garrison, were sent as prisoners to Moorshedabad. The Resident and another of the principal factors were detained as prisoners in Suraj-o-dowlah's camp.

Among those who were conveyed to Moorshedabad, was Warren Hastings, the future Governor General of India.

An order was issued in August, 1751, "to cut down all the old trees and underwood in and about the town of Calcutta, and reserve them till Mr. Robbins' arrival, as we judged this would be a great saving to your Honors [the Court of Directors] in the article of firewood for burning bricks." Mr. Robbins was sent out to complete the fortifications, which the Court were very anxious about, as they apprehended an attack; for in Calcutta they had scarcely a gun mounted, or a carriage to mount it on. There were only 200 firelocks fit for service.

In 1753 the Court sent out fifty-five pieces of cannon, eighteen and twenty-four pounders, which were never mounted, and which were lying near the walls of the fort, when the siege began. The bastions of the fort were small, the curtains only three feet thick, and served as the outward wall of a range of chambers, which with their terraces, were on all sides overlooked by buildings outside within a hundred yards; and there was neither ditch nor even a palisade to interrupt the approach of an enemy. None of the cannon mounted were above 9 pounders, most were honeycombed, their carriages decayed and the ammunition did not exceed 600 charges.

The very year before the loss of Calcutta, Captain Leigh Jones, the captain of the Train—in other words, the commandant of the Artillery—pointed out the ruinous state of the fortifications, and urged their being repaired, but no steps were taken till the enemy was at the door. The garrison was totally unprepared for a siege when the first guns of the Nawab's army, fired at Pering's Point at Chitpore, announced the approach of his overwhelming host; and though the provisions in the Fort were barely sufficient for its small garrison and that only for a short period, more than six thousand of the inhabitants of Calcutta, including several hundred Portuguese women, were admitted into it. Of the five military officers in the

garrison, Captain Buchanan was the only one that had any war experience. He exhibited the most undaunted spirit throughout the siege, and at last perished in the Black Hole.

Such was the condition of the settlement when this unexpected danger threatened it. A considerable number of civilians, of all ranks, hastily volunteered to bear arms. The senior members of Government took the post of field-officers, and even the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, the Chaplain, rendered himself useful as a Captain-Lieutenant. The junior members of the service served in the ranks, and the obstinate defence of the place during the 19th and 20th June, which so greatly exasperated the Nawab, is to be ascribed to their extraordinary valour.

On the 9th June, 1756, Suraj-o-dowlah commenced his march towards Calcutta, with a force, it is said, numbering from 50,000 to 70,000 men. The garrison at Fort William numbered only 264 men, and the inhabitants, forming a militia, were only 250—in all 514 men, while of these only 174 were Europeans, and of such not ten had seen any active service. Assistance was sought from Madras and Bombay, and the French and Dutch from Chandernagore and Chinsurah were also solicited to join them in the defence of a common cause. The Dutch positively refused, and the French advised the English to repair to Chandernagore, in which case they promised them protection.

On the 13th June a letter from Suraj-o-dowlah's head spy to Omichund was intercepted. In this letter the rich Hindoo merchant was advised to send his effects out of reach of danger as soon as possible, which confirming the suspicions that were already entertained of Omichund's conduct, he was immediately apprehended and put under strict confinement in the Fort. At the same time Kissendass, who had been Omichund's guest, was brought into the Fort.

On the 16th June, early in the morning, tidings arrived of the near approach of Suraj-o-dowlah's army; upon which the greater part of the native inhabitants fled in terror, and others with their wives and children, and all the English women, then in Calcutta, took refuge in the Fort. At noon the army appeared in sight, and commenced the attack upon the devoted town.

The Nawab invested the place on the morning of the 18th June, and before night all the outposts were in his hands, and his troops were enabled to approach within musket shot of the Fort. The assault on Calcutta lasted three days. The defence was conducted with great bravery, but the overwhelming numbers of the enemy rendered success hopeless. Happily there was at the time an English ship and seven smaller vessels in the river.

A council of war was held, when it was decided to send the ladies away in the *Dodaly*, together with the Company's money and books. As that vessel was likely to be overcrowded, Mr. Holwell offered his own snow, the *Diligence*, on which four of the ladies embarked.

The council of war continued to sit till 4 in the morning. At 2, the President Mr. Drake, Mr. Mackett, a member of council, Commandant Minchin and Captain Grant fled to the ships, leaving their companions to the mercy of an infuriated enemy. The flight of the President and the military officers became the signal for a general desertion. Crowds hastened down to the river, and each one leaped into the first boat he could find; and in a few moments every boat of every description was gone.

Messrs. Manningham and Frankland, two of the members of council, were the first to set the example of flight. On pretence of accompanying the ladies, they went on board the *Dodaly*, of which they were part owners, and from which they never returned. Their master's papers and cash were left

behind—for want of coolies; though coolies were easily found to convey other packages on board, which were reasonably supposed to belong to the owners.

It was afterwards determined, in a general council, that the garrison should abandon the Fort and make their escape to the ships the next evening. But in the meanwhile many of the native boatmen deserted, and when it was proposed to ship off the native women and children, all order was lost among the affrighted multitude, and the remaining boats were over-crowded, several upset, and numbers of the hapless fugitives were drowned, while such as managed to reach the shore, were either murdered, or made prisoners by the soldiers of Suraj-o-dowlah, who had taken possession of all the houses and enclosures on the bank of the river. The ships too had slipped and moved to Govindpore, three miles lower down the river.

The gentlemen in the Fort, thus abandoned by their superiors, and their retreat cut off, held a council, and selected Mr. Holwell as their Chief. The garrison made the most vigorous defence of the fort during the 19th, and till 10 o'clock on the forenoon of the 20th, when it was found that of 170 men who had been left, 25 were killed and 70 wounded; that all were exhausted with fatigue, and that the Fort itself was no longer tenable. Mr. Holwell, therefore, determined to capitulate. In sheer helplessness, they surrendered themselves, and that evening were all mercilessly thrust into a single ill-ventilated room, eighteen feet square, for confinement through the sultry night. When the morning came, the door was opened, but, out of one hundred and forty-six prisoners, twenty-four only were living. The rest had expired in the agonies of suffocation.

All the ladies in the settlement had been embarked, save one, a very "fine country-born lady," as Holwell calls her, the wife of Mr. Carey, an officer of one of the ships, who refused to quit her husband, and when the town was captured, resolved

to accompany him into the prison of the Black Hole, from which she was drawn forth in the morning, an emaciated widow. She was taken by force to the Nawab's camp, and it is said, she remained seven years in the seraglio; but this assertion needs proof. She lived to be the last survivor of the Black Hole prisoners. She died in the year 1801.

The Black Hole, of fearful memory, was a room above ground, ordinarily used as the garrison lock-up; it was entirely closed up on two sides, on the third was a door leading into the barrack, and on the fourth two small barred windows opening into a verandah; its superficial area appears to have been about 250 square feet, and it barely afforded standing room for the 146 persons packed into it by order of Suraj-o-dowlah.

Those who escaped from the besieged factory, lay "on board a few defenceless ships at Fultah, the most unwholesome spot in the country, about twenty miles below Calcutta, and destitute of the common necessaries of life;" but by the assistance of the French and Dutch, and privately by the help of the natives, who sold them all kinds of provisions, they supported the horror, of their situation till August. Then two hundred and forty men came from Madras. But evil was still before them. Disease, arising from "bad air, bad weather, and confinement to the ships," with the want of proper supplies, now broke out, and swept off "almost all the military and many of the inhabitants."

When the English quitted the fort, they remained for several months on board of the ships at Fultah. Some of the provisions were supplied by Nobokissen, at the risk of his life, as the Nawab had prohibited, under penalty of death, any one supplying the English with provisions. Warren Hastings, taking into consideration this noble conduct of Nobokissen in the time of pressing need, made that native his moonshee, and elevated him and his family in rank and station.

In the Government Proceedings of the 14th February, 1757, we find the following accounts of expenses of the European refugees from Calcutta on board the vessels anchored off Fultah :—" (1) Bill for allowances for the inhabitants on board from 1st October to 31st December, at Rs. 50 per mensem each, amounting to Rs. 1,708-5-3. (2) Bill for diet expenses of ditto, for part of September, Rs. 141. (3) Bill for diet of ditto on board the *Dragon* sloop, from 26th July to 26th September, Rs. 364. (4) Note for wine, &c., for the use of the sick, Rs. 336."

For half a year after this horrible catastrophe, there was little left besides the blackened ruins of the Fort and factory buildings, to show how a company of adventurous Englishmen had made an abortive attempt to settle on the fertile plains of Bengal, and to establish commercial relations between their own distant island and the natives of Northern India. A large native town remained, which had rapidly grown up around the factory; but it was Suraj-o-dowlah's resolve to wipe out all traces of British occupancy from the country over which he ruled.

In a letter from Clive to the Court, dated 26th July 1757, we learn that "Mons. Law and his party came down as far as Rajmahal to Suraj-o-dowlah's assistance, and were within three hours' march of him, when he was taken; as soon as they heard of his misfortune, they returned by forced marches and passed Patna." Mons. Law was Chief at Chandernagore, who, with Bussy, had promised Suraj-o-dowlah their aid against the "perfidious" English.

How little were the strange issues of these dismal events foreseen. Intrepid Britons soon came with Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive from Madras, to the succour of those of their countrymen, who had escaped destruction. Victory attended the little army whithersoever it advanced, and before the anniversary of the unhappy siege came round, Calcutta had been triumphantly re-taken, the battle of Plassey had been won, and the throne of the Nawab was occupied by a partisan

of the English. By those who had been his own creatures, the fugitive tyrant was put to death, while the British obtained that firm footing and that arm of power in Bengal, which speedily led to their acknowledged supremacy there. In short, the foundations had been laid of that great Indian empire, whose growth has been as marvellous as its beginning.

Near the site of the Black Hole, an obelisk, 50 feet high, was erected by Mr. Holwell, and the other survivors, but the monument was pulled down by order of the Marquis of Hastings in 1819, some assert, on the ground that it was inexpedient to perpetuate the memory of the disaster; but the most likely reason was to make room for the Custom House. The exact site of the dungeon cannot apparently now be determined; but according to Holwell's narrative, it must have been to the south of the east gateway and near the south-east bastion. Remembering the now ascertained position of the northern limits, and of the known length of the eastern wall of the old fort, this would place it between the Custom House and the new Post Office, and close to the road at the north-east corner of Dalhousie Square.*

In the course of making the excavations requisite for the foundations of the East Indian Railway offices, a very interesting discovery was made, which removes any doubt there may have been as to the position of the northern limits of the old fort of Calcutta. The original Fort William, built in 1692, and named after the then reigning monarch, was situated on the bank of the Hooghly, and extended from the middle of Clive Street to opposite the northern end of the Lall Diggee. This can only be correct on the supposition that Clive Street, in those days, comprised the road from Hare Street to the site of the present Bonded Warehouse; for it is now clear that the northern wall of the fort ran along what is at present the southern

* In this connection see *Old Fort William and the Black Hole. A Note by C. R. Wilson. Calcutta, 1904.*

side of Fairlie Place, and that the fortifications lay wholly to the southward of what is now the south end of Clive Street.

The portion of the old entrenchment which was laid bare, was evidently the north-west bastion, and corresponds in shape and bearing with this corner of the walls as shown in an old map and picture of Calcutta in 1756, given in Orme's Hindoostan. According to this and other available authorities, the Fort was 210 yards long, 100 yards broad at its northern, and 110 at its southern end, having a gateway in its eastern and western walls, and a bastion at each corner; the east gateway exactly faced the road running in front of Writers' Buildings, which, with its continuation, Bow Bazar Street, appears to have been called "the avenue leading to the eastward." When, in 1819, the old fort was dismantled to make room for the Custom House, its walls were found so hard as to defy pickaxe and crowbar, and render gunpowder necessary for their demolition. This statement is fully confirmed by the toughness of the old masonry lately opened up, and Holwell describes the mortar which was used in it as "a composition of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, a cement as hard as stone."

On the 23rd December, 1819, some workmen employed in pulling down an old building contiguous to the Bankshall, and "immediately opposite Mr. Hare the watchmaker's shop," discovered a large collection of bayonets. They were first seen on breaking down the masonry which filled a doorway on the north side. There was no other entrance to the place in which they were found. It was blocked up by walls on three sides. The fourth wall, to the west, however was not carried up to the roof, and left a space of about three feet. Through this opening, it was supposed that the bayonets must have been thrown, apparently in a hurry, as they were heaped up in a very confused manner. They were of all shapes and sizes, and though covered with rust, many of them had the

Company's mark still visible. The number thus discovered was upwards of 12,000! Underneath the bayonets were several cooking utensils, articles of household furniture and oyster shells, and also auction advertisements and tavern bills, dated 1795. The mysterious circumstance gave rise to various conjectures, but nothing definite was come to.

West of St. John's Church, in the premises afterwards occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was formerly the old Mint, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. The treaty permitted the Company to establish a mint, from which the first coin was issued on the 19th August, 1757. The coins were, however, struck in the name of the Emperor of Delhi. It was not till the reign of William IV. that the Company commenced to strike rupees with the King's head and an English inscription. On the site of and previous to the building of the old Mint, stood in 1790 the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gillets. Before the erection of the Mint the coinage was executed by contract at Pultah by Mr. Prinsep, who commenced the coinage in 1762.

CHAPTER VI.

CALCUTTA RESTORED—1758.

REBUILDING OF THE CITY—RESUMPTION OF TRADE.

ABOUT twenty miles from Calcutta, in a straight line, as the crow flies, but fifty miles by water, lies Fultah. Ordinarily a place of little note, except that it was the general station for Dutch shipping, it was in 1756 raised to temporary importance as the rendezvous of the small English fleet that had escaped from Calcutta, and the city of refuge for subsequent English fugitives. Here, in guarded dwellings, were the English women who had been rescued from the fort, and also the greater number of the small remnant of sufferers from the Black Hole tragedy. Here also were the agents of the Company from the subordinate factories of Dacca, Jugdeea, and Balasore, who on the first alarm of danger had escaped from the factories to the protection of the fleet.

It was Colonel Clive to whom was entrusted the recovery of the lost possessions of the English in Bengal; and early in October, 1756, a naval and military armament—the former commanded by Admiral Watson, and the latter consisting of nine hundred English and fifteen hundred native soldiers, sailed from Madras for Calcutta. The squadron consisted of five ships of war. It did not however reach Fultah before the middle of December.

It was not long before measures were arranged for the retaking of Calcutta, and the fleet pushed forward. Budge-Budge was captured, and when the ships arrived off Calcutta, a panic had stricken the General of Suraj-o-dowlah; so that he

fled with the greater portion of his troops to Hooghly. Thither he was pursued. Hooghly was taken; Chandernagore also; and the victorious Clive then marched over to Plassey, where with 3,000 men, of whom only 650 were British soldiers, he met and conquered the hosts of Suraj-o-dowlah. Thus ended the battle of Plassey, which delivered the English in Bengal from an unreasonable and tyrannical oppressor, and transferred to their hands the reins of government over a widely extended and yet spreading empire.

The arrival of a French fleet with large reinforcements of military on the coast in July, 1758, caused much consternation among the English residents in Calcutta, and various plans were proposed for defending the settlement against any attempt to take the place. Captain Brohier, who had charge of the building of Fort William, wished to sink ships and place a boom across the stream at Calpee, to prevent the French coming up the river. A select committee, that had been appointed to consider the subject, recommended "that five boats should be prepared, to be filled with combustibles in order to burn their ships in case they advanced up the river; that the pagoda at Ingelee should be washed black, the great tree at that place cut down, and buoys removed or their positions altered. The master attendant and Captain Brohier were accordingly ordered to purchase boats and materials for the above mentioned purpose, and to prepare everything for the execution of the scheme in case of an enemy's fleet advancing up the river."

Fort William was begun by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey in 1758, about a mile to the southward of the old fort, on the site of a thick forest and two villages, the inhabitants of which had been induced to settle in Calcutta by the Seths, a wealthy mercantile family. Where the splendid houses of Chowringhee now stand, a miserable village, surrounded by marshy pools, existed in 1717; and even in 1756, when Suraj-o-dowlah took the place, only seventy houses were inhabited by

Englishmen. The citadel of Fort William cost two millions sterling; but it is on so great a scale, that a garrison of 15,000 men is required for its defence. It is built in the form of an octagon, and is fortified according to Vauban's system; three of the fronts, however, which are turned towards the Hooghly to command the river, deviate from the regular form. The five regular sides are inland; the bastions have all very salient orillons behind which retire circular flanks; the moat is dry, and has a lunette in the middle, but it can be laid under water by means of two sluices. In front of every courtine is a ravelin, the faces of which mount twenty-six pieces of heavy artillery. The demi-bastions on each side are covered by a counter-guard, the faces of which are likewise defended by twenty-six guns. In the interior of the citadel are bomb-proof barracks, the arsenal, and the magazines. The garrison consists of two European regiments, one of sepoys, and a few companies of artillery; because the principal station is at Barrackpore, thirteen miles distant, where there are 7,000 men. The arsenal contains arms for 80,000 men. Close to it some works have been erected, by means of which the whole may be laid under water in a very short time. An artesian well was begun some years ago, but afterwards abandoned. In boring this well, the bones of dogs were discovered at the depth of 150 feet!

In consequence of advices that Mons. Lally had destroyed the houses of Fort St. David, had set fire to and damaged the houses at the Mount, and was intending the destruction of Black Town had he not been prevented by the arrival of troops from Calcutta, the authorities at the head of the Government of Bengal immediately ordered the demolition of the "wharfs, magazines and houses, both public and private, at Chandernagore,"—and they were at once destroyed, with the exception of the houses of a few indigent widows, which were permitted to remain untouched. This was done in December, 1758.

From this period, Calcutta rapidly increased in extent and population. In 1798 the number of houses was 78,760, and population between 6 and 700,000.

European residences were at first collected around the old Fort; but, as confidence grew stronger, "garden houses" sprung up in the suburbs, and the area of the town was enlarged. The thatched huts of the natives composed most of the streets, and accidental and incendiary fires annually produced wide spread devastation amongst them. In March, 1780, no fewer than fifteen thousand "straw houses" were thus destroyed; and a hundred and nineteen persons perished in the conflagration. Famines were also frequent and frightfully destructive. One which extended over 1770 and 1771 was the most terrible in its consequences, but others of shorter duration occasioned unspeakable suffering. In 1788 it was necessary to give daily allowance to upwards of twenty thousand starving people in Calcutta, whilst "the crowds of those who surrounded the city and lined the roads to it," exhibited a scene of misery and wretchedness which words could not paint or tongue express. "So numerous," says the *Calcutta Chronicle*, of October 9th, 1788, "are the wretches, who daily expire on the roads leading to Calcutta, that there is scarcely a sufficient number of men of the *Hari* caste to carry the bodies away before they turn putrid and infectious." The *Chronicle* proceeds,—"Some more decent, and less shocking manner should be practised in carrying the dead bodies to the river instead of that now in use. Sometimes they are loosely flung across a bamboo, and frequently tumble off on the way. At other times, the feet and hands are tied together, and in this shocking and indecent manner the bodies are carried naked through the streets."

The European residents were always generous in aiding such sufferers, but it was often declared that the opulent natives seemed to be utterly regardless of the woes of their miserable countrymen, and gave only when superstition extorted what

philanthropy would not yield. The most revolting practices of Hinduism were unblushingly exposed to public view. The editor of one of the newspapers complains, in October, 1792, that he had just seen about fifty *Sanyasis* parading the streets of the city, all utterly naked. Widows were burned alive with the bodies of their husbands, close to the city; and there was reason to believe that, now and then, the bloody goddess *Kali* was propitiated by a human sacrifice at the celebrated shrine in the south-eastern suburb, from which, most probably, the city takes its name. The police regulations in those early days were very inefficient. Dacoits, those red-handed robbers, who ruthlessly combined most cruel atrocities with destructive pillage, abounded in many districts of Bengal, both on land and upon the rivers; and the consternation their daring exploits produced, was felt in Calcutta itself.

On a platform erected to the south-west of Cooley Bazar, (which was once an extensive Musalman burial ground) Nundcomar, once Dewan to the Nawab of Moorshedabad, was executed on the 5th August, 1775—the first Brahmin hanged by the English in India. The excitement caused by his death was so great among the Hindoos, that it was supposed that the lives of the judges would be attempted by the infuriated mob.

If Clive or Admiral Watson were to revisit the banks of that river, which more than a century ago they passed up with the few ships and small handful of fighting men, which paved the way for the conquest of Hindoostan, they would out-do Dominie Sampson in their hearty exclamations of "Prodigious!" Where erst were to be seen a few Bengalee fishermen or boat-men, mending their nets or cleaning their cooking pots, is now a broad and level road, covered, at eventide, by hundreds of carriages and horsemen. No sooner does the setting sun tinge the western horizon, than all the English residents in Calcutta throw open their doors and windows, make a hasty toilet and sally forth, in carriage or on horseback, to enjoy the evening

air. The Course is crowded with vehicles of every description; one marvels who all those people are that own these hundreds of carriages.

The first impression made on the mind of the stranger is, that there must be an enormous number of wealthy inhabitants in Calcutta. But the equipage is, in reality, no sort of index to the worldly possessions of the owner. It may let you, perhaps, into the secret of a man's vanity—certainly not of his income. Some of the most pretending equipages on the Course are sported by people belonging to the second class of society—respectable personages enough no doubt, and peradventure, not much given to show; but the wife and the daughters must have their britska or barouche, though they do pinch a little at home to maintain it, and on the Course at least, the wife of the uncovenanted subordinate may jostle the lady of the head of the office. When we consider how much is often sacrificed to support the dignity of a carriage and pair—how much substantial comfort is thrown aside to make room for this little bit of ostentation—that the equipage is with many, *the* thing from which they derive much of their importance—we soon cease to wonder at the formidable array of conveyances which throng the Course every evening, and present a scene, which, as one of daily occurrence, has not perhaps, its parallel in the world.

So powerless were the Indian authorities to punish natives, that on the occasion of eleven lascars, the crew of one of the Company's vessels, having risen on the captain and killed him on account of his bad usage of them, in October, 1754, the Government "dreaded a war with the Nawab should they hang Musulmans," and therefore referred the matter to the Court of Directors, detaining the culprits in prison, "to be produceable at any time, if sickness do not take them out of the world."

Some German ships being expected in September, 1754, orders were issued to all the pilots in the river, prohibiting

them taking charge of them, or of any vessels not "belonging to powers already established in India; they also advised the Court that "nothing shall be wanting on our part to put any obstacle we can devise in their way."

A sum of Rs. 338-6-9 was paid to Messrs. Wells and Drake "on account of expenses of the fortifications at Bagbazar for the month of December, 1754." This redoubt, says Mr. Long, defended by sixty Europeans and natives, repulsed with loss the Nawab's army on the 16th June, 1756.

The Company, in 1755, began to resist the unwarrantable assumption of authority which the Rajah of Burdwan often exercised over Company's servants. This was manifested in an affair which occurred in the beginning of 1755. An European, named Wood, had obtained a warrant of sequestration against the Rajah's *gomashtas*, by virtue of which he had sealed up the Rajah's house and effects in Calcutta. Upon which the Rajah stopped the Company's business in all the districts of the Burdwan Raj. The Company therefore sent a remonstrance to the Nawab, and requested that a proper reprimand should be administered to the Rajah of Burdwan This the Nawab duly administered, and the stoppage of the trade was removed.

One of the earliest works that treat of Calcutta, is "The Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus," written by Philip Stanhope, an officer of the 1st Regiment of Dragoon Guards, which was published in London in 1785. Stanhope came to India in 1774, he touched at Madras and then proceeded to Calcutta. It was the time when the *hooka* was in vogue. He says—"Even the writers, whose salary and perquisites scarce amount to £200 a year, contrive to be attended, wherever they go, by their *hookaburdar*, or servant whose duty it is to replenish the *hooka* with the necessary ingredients, and to keep up the fire with his breath. But, extravagant as the English are in their *hooka*,

their equipage and their tables, yet all this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expenses of a seraglio—a luxury which only those can enjoy whose rank in the service entitles them to a princely income, and whose harem, like the state horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to eastern grandeur."

The village of Chitpore, a little beyond the junction of the Circular Canal with the river at the north-eastern extremity of Calcutta, appears to have been in existence more than three hundred years ago. It was then written Chittrupoor, and was noted for the temple of Chittresuree Dabee, or the goddess of Chittru, known among Europeans as the temple of *Kali*. This was the spot where the largest number of human sacrifices were offered to the goddess in Bengal before the establishment of the British Government. The most conspicuous object at Chitpore is the house and garden of the Nawab, Tuhower Jung. This was the original residence of the Chitpore Nawab, as he was called, Mahmed Raja Khan, to whom the whole administration of Bengal, civil, criminal and revenual, was entrusted for several years after the Company had obtained the Dewanee. It was to this house that the Nawab was brought a prisoner in 1772, by the peremptory orders of the Court of Directors, when they suspected that he had made the interests of the country and the Company subservient to his own. After he arrived, and was lodged in his own house under a guard, the members of council actually debated on the mode in which the object of their master's displeasure should be received, and the majority decided on deputing one of their number to do him honor!

There being no proper places for the public offices, it was proposed in the "*Consultations,*" of the 22nd June, 1758, and agreed, "to purchase the dwelling, house of the late Mr. Richard Court, and appropriate it so such purpose; in which a room should be set apart as a Council Chamber." This house was situated in the street called after it Council House street.

The Diamond Harbour Road was lined with trees from Kidderpore to Bursea. This road was thirty-nine miles in length, while the river route was fifty-six. It must have been of great convenience for traffic, when cargo-boats occupied from five to seven days in taking goods from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour; and when ships were accustomed to take three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour.

It may be interesting to know what was the rate of taxation in Calcutta in 1810, and for some years previous to that, when no municipal bodies existed. (1) Dwelling houses of every description (not shops), five per cent. on the annual rent, or estimated rent when occupied by the proprietors; (2) shops or houses occupied as shops, ten per cent. on annual rent; (3) no tax on empty houses; (4) all religious edifices exempt from tax.

An extraordinary project, was in 1789 in agitation by the French, of proceeding to India through Egypt; and a very formidable expedition was said to be preparing in the Mediterranean, to answer at once the purposes of science and conquest and of which the object was to strike a formidable blow against the English in India. The following is one among the most remarkable passages in an article on this subject contained in the *Redacteur*, signed Barbault Royer:—" It is only in the absolute ruin of its power (of England in India) that we can crush this superb rival; so long as Britain shall dispense the treasures of Bengal, what foreign power can be insensible to the seducing influence of its wealth? What means is there to prevent the rupees of Orissa purchasing the perfidy of kings, of stimulating their leagues, and subsidising their hungry battalions? It is by uniting our efforts in concert, and striking at the very source of their riches. Europe and Asia must resound with the same blows. India must be subjugated by crossing the waves of the Red Sea, and our conquest in the East must extinguish the hope of our enemy of repairing in that quarter the wreck of its throne in Europe."

Fort Marlborough was a place of some importance at this time, (1795). It was fortified by two hundred sepoys and a complete company of Artillery. War with France had been declared, and it was feared that that nation would pounce down with her navy on the Indian colonies of England: perhaps that was the principal reason for the above armament.

Affairs in Europe being very critical, England being threatened with invasion by France, for which the large flotilla and naval force was in rapid progress, several of the wealthy inhabitants at home were stirred up in their loyal feelings towards their sovereign and their country, to contribute nobly to the supply of pecuniary means for the defence of their country. Up to the 1st March, 1798, a million and-a-half had been received at the Bank of England, and contributions were pouring in from all parts of the country.

When the news of this liberality on the part of the citizens of London and of the country reached India, the loyal inhabitants of Calcutta at once convened a public meeting for the purpose of "expressing in an humble and dutiful address to His Majesty, our loyalty and attachment to his Royal Person and Government at this important crisis, and also of considering the best mode of promoting voluntary contributions in these provinces and their dependencies, in order that the amount thereof may be applied to the public service, in such manner as Parliament may direct."

The meeting was called by the Sheriff and held at the Theatre on the 17th July, where there was a numerous and respectable gathering of the British inhabitants. Addresses were drawn up, and a book for voluntary contributions opened. The sum at once subscribed at the meeting was £30,616, and several large annual subscriptions to be paid so long as the war should last, amounting to a total of £5,655 sterling. Other sums were subsequently added, making a total of £158,053, showing the loyalty of the colonists and their good feeling to their country.

Similar meetings were held at Madras on the 12th July and at Bombay on the 28th June, when the voluntary contributions at Madras amounted to 185,916 star-pagodas, and at Bombay to Rs. 2,44,707. And so general was the feeling of loyalty among all classes, that the officers, and non-commissioned officers and privates of the army subscribed one month's pay towards the fund. The proprietors of Bank Stock also held a meeting, and the Deputy Governor was empowered to make a contribution of £200,000 for the service of the country.

Stimulated by the loyal meetings held by the European inhabitants of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, several of the principal native inhabitants of Calcutta, who were desirous of testifying their loyalty to the King of England, and their attachment to the British Government under whose protection they lived, held a meeting on the 21st of August, 1798, and determined to raise a subscription among their body, for the same purpose as that raised among the European residents, viz., to assist the Government in carrying on the war then raging in defence of England, and her Eastern possessions. The signatures to the requisition for the meeting were:—Gourchurn Mullick, Nemoychurn Mullick, Ramkissen Mullick, Gopeemohun Tagore, Collychurn Holdar, Russick Lall Dutt, and Gocool Chund Dutt—all wealthy and loyal subjects, and who showed their liberality by subscribing a sum of Rs. 20,800 at once.

The following stanzas of a local poet seem to refer to the threatened invasion by France of the British possessions in India. It bears date 16th August, 1798:—

"Forth like a cannon let it roar;
Quick, let it sound from shore to shore:
Let the impulsive shock rebound;
Let cities, rocks, and castles echo round,
Britannia rules the main
A louder yet, and yet a louder strain,
Proclaim, proclaim, proclaim.

Britain, ever bold and free,
Long shall live to rule the sea.
Girt in its azure zone:
Hispania, Gallia, and Batavia know,
(Taught by many an overthrow,)
She rules the main alone.

Spirit of England rouse. They know thy strength:
The furies of mankind are taught to fear at length.
They wish a great event;
They see the danger, yet they fain
Would 'tempt to cross the hostile main,
And make a good descent.

Let their huge rafts immortal be;
Impregnable to every force at sea;
See new invented castles smoke;
Hear them the gods of fire invoke,
Approaching to our shore—
They will return no more.
See them at length obtain the strand,
Their horse and foot at quick command,
Forming a line upon the sand—
They will return no more.

The mighty god whose trident rules the sea,
Terrific frowns, and issues this decree:
"Unhappy they who reach my sacred shore,
"Doomed to return to Gallia's plains no more."
I see the thunderer with vindictive ire,
Repel their troops, and urge the vengeful fire;
While o'er the ranks of late insulting France,
Triumphant Britain wields her conquering lance.
This active fancy pourtrays to my view:
Britions be bold: you'll make the fiction true.

Thus erst, in great Eliza's reign,
The grand Armada braved the seas in vain;
Nor less, ILLUSTRIOUS GEORGE, shall be thy fame,
A loyal nation rises at thy name.
And see, they VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS bring,
Proud to assert the glorious cause
Of ORDER, LIBERTY and LAWS:
Their COUNTRY and their KING."

Stavorinus tells us that in 1798 the English had "some warehouses and a factory" at Diamond Harbour, "much frequented by ships; close to it is a channel called the Shrimp Channel."

A little beyond Ishapore once stood Bankybazar, where the Ostend East India Company established a factory and a fort, it is supposed in 1724, and from which they were expelled in 1733, by the troops of the Mahomedan Government at the instigation of the English and the Dutch.

There is a place on the sea coast, not far from Hidgelee, called Burcool, which about the year 1780 to 1785 was reckoned the Brighton of Calcutta. There were at that time many bungalows there, and the place was a considerable station; but for some reason it became deserted, and in 1823, only one bungalow remained standing; this building had been erected by Warren Hastings.

Akra, a little below Garden Reach, was in 1760, a salt depôt; afterwards it was used as a powder magazine, and subsequently as a Race Course.

Howrah in 1799 had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians. The ground to the north-west of the church is marked in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal Artillery.

Surman's Bridge was situated near where Hastings' Bridge now is: it was built of brick, and was named after Mr. Surman, a member of council. He was a member of the Embassy to Delhi in 1717. His residence was to the south of the bridge in a place called Surman's Gardens, which is rendered memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped when they cowardly deserted the Fort in 1756.

Baraset, ten miles from Calcutta, was in 1763, and for many years afterwards, a favourite retreat for those wishing to enjoy a country life and pig-sticking. The way to it lay

through Dum-Dum, then on the borders of the Sunderbunds, where Lord Clive had a country house.

Ghyretty had a magnificent house erected by the French as a second Versailles, noted for festivities in the days of Dupleix when 120 carriages lined its magnificent avenues.

Warren Hastings had a garden house to the west of Belvidere House, now the residence of the Governor of Bengal, at Kidderpore. There is a note in the Council's proceedings of the 20th June, 1763, where Mr. Hastings requests permission of the Board to build a bridge over the Collyghaut Nallah on the road to his garden house. Agreed, his request to be complied with.

The Luckypore Factory, which in 1761 stood a mile up a creek, locked in and secure both from the strong freshes and the impulse of bores, and the S.-W. monsoon, was in 1767 so encroached upon by the river that it was eventually washed away entirely.

All the guns and stores were ordered, in February 1793, to be brought from Budge-Budge, and that fort henceforward was no longer held as a military outpost.

The Government having determined to dispose of the whole of the buildings and lands of Pultah Factory, and also of the old powder works at Manicolly and of Fort Gloucester, immediately opposite to Budge-Budge, a notice appears on the 15th April, offering them for competition at public auction on the 31st of May, 1790. The sale took place in July, when the buildings and premises were knocked down to the following parties :—

Pultah Factory	Sa. Rs.	5,800	Messrs. Lee and Ullman.
Do. Bleaching ground	,,	5,800	Mr. Ullman.
Old Powder works	,,	3,000	Mr. Tyler.
Fort Gloucester	,,	2,450	Lieutenant Moggach.

The Police Office in Lall Bazar was once the residence of John Palmer, one of the "merchant princes" of Calcutta.

On the opposite side of the street stood the old Jail, which also served as the Tyburn of Calcutta, all the executions taking place in the cross road near it. The pillory was erected also on that spot. At the siege of Calcutta in 1756, it served like another Hougumont, as a point of defence.

Opposite the old Jail and next to Palmer's house was the famous "Harmonican Tavern," in 1780. This building was afterwards the Sailors' Home. It was the handsomest house then in Calcutta, and proved a great comfort to the poor people in jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that "every house was a paradise, and every host an angel." Mrs. Fay writes of this house in 1780:—"I felt far more gratified some time ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic, which was supported by a select number of gentlemen who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball and supper, during the cold season; I believe once a fortnight. We had a great deal of delightful music, and Lady C—* who is a capital performer on the harpsichord, played amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai's in a most brilliant style."

The sandbank on the Seebpore side, opposite to the Fort, was formed by the sinking of a ship named the *Sumatra*, and hence named the Sumatra Sand. In consequence of this bank, the deep channel of the river ways diverted from its original course to the Calcutta side.

Kidderpore† was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the chief engineer on the Company's military establishment; his two East Indian sons were the famous

* Lady Chambers, the wife of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of Bengal.

† It has also been said that "Kidderpore" is a corruption of *Khetterpur*.

ship-builders. In 1818 was launched from this dock, the *Hastings*, a 74-gun ship.

Facing Alipore Bridge is Belvidere, once the favourite residence of Warren Hastings, but during the latter period of his residence he erected another house further south. He is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, which is very probable, considering the state of other places at that time. Mrs. Fay, in 1780, describes Belvidere as "a perfect bijou, most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display." Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvidere in 1768, when the then Governor of Bengal resided there.

Jessop's Foundry was established by Mr. Jessop, who came out in 1720. He was sent by the Home Government to make an iron bridge for the King of Lucknow, and after having completed the work for which he was sent, he returned to Calcutta and commenced his foundry.

The Bengal Club was established in Calcutta in the early part of 1827.

Street Nomenclature.

Park Street, so called because it led to Sir E. Impey's Park, was in 1794 called by the name of the Burial Ground road, it being the route for burials from town to the Circular Road burial ground. It is remarked—"All funeral processions are concealed as much as possible from the sight of the ladies, that the vivacity of their tempers may not be wounded."

Durrumtollah was formerly called "The Avenue," as it led from town to the Salt Water Lake and the adjacent country. It was then a "well raised causeway, raised by deepening the ditch on either side," with wretched huts on the south side, while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek Row, through the Wellington Square tank, down to Chandpaul Ghaut. Large boats could navigate it. There were trees on both sides of the road. Durrumtollah (or Dharmatala)

is so called from a great mosque, afterwards pulled down, which was on the site of what was long known as Cook's stables. The "Karbela," a famous Musalman assemblage, which now meets in the Circular Road, used then to congregate at that mosque, and by its local sanctity the street took its name of Dharmatola or Holy street. The Durrumtollah Bazar occupies the site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, Superintendent of the Gun Manufactory, which was afterwards removed to Cossipore. David Brown, the eminent Minister of the Old Church, occupied Colonel De Glass' house, in which he kept a boarding school. Among Mr. Brown's pupils were Sir Robert Grant, afterwards Governor of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg.*

Cossitollah (now Bentinck) Street, leading from Dhurrumtollah into old Calcutta, was named after the "Kasai" or butchers, dealers in goats and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. In 1757 Cossitollah was a mass of jungle and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map of Calcutta in 1792, only two or three houses are marked in this locality, of which one was that of Charles Grant, which was situated in Grant's Lane, which takes its name from that circumstance. In 1788 Mr. Mackinnon opened a school in Cossitollah.

Lall Bazar is mentioned by Holwell, in 1738, as a famous bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states to have been the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby-looking shops called Boutiques, kept by black people." It then stretched from the Custom House to Baitakhana. In 1770 Europeans and others here retailed "pariah arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers." In 1788 Sir William Jones refers to the nuisance here of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish and Portuguese.

The road from Lall Bazar to the Old Church was formerly named the "Rope Walk," and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta in 1756.

* Lord Glenelg was Charles Grant, the elder brother of Sir Robert.

Old Court House Street, parallel with Mission Row, is so named from the old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street on the site of St. Andrew's Church. The Charity School boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey. The Charity School, which was the first in Calcutta, then contained twenty children. The Court House was erected about 1727, by Mr. Bourchier, a merchant. In 1734, Mr. Bourchier gave over the house to Government, on condition of their supporting the charity. Lectures were occasionally given in this old Town Hall. Stavorinus writes of this place in 1776:—" Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place."

Baitakhana Street received its name from the famous old tree that stood here, and formed a *baitakhana* or resting-place for the merchants who traded with Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Job Charnock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree; this tree was probably the Baitakhāna tree. " Here the merchants met to depart in bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robbers in the neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived at Calcutta with merchandise, for the factory." This tree finds a place in Upjohn's map of 1794. A car of Jugunnath, seventy feet high, formerly stood near to the big tree, and a thanna or guard-house was located under the branches of the tree.

The first reference to the road on the river bank, on which the galaxy of Calcutta are wont to take their morning and evening drives, we find in a letter from Mrs. Kindersley in 1768, where she says—" A little out of town is a clear airy spot, free from smoke, or any encumbrances, called the "Corse"

(because it is a road, the length of a corse [*koss*] or two miles) in a sort of ring, or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sunset, or in the morning before the sun is up." An old song states that those who frequented it, "swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one of fresh air." The recreation then was "in chaises or by palankeens, in the fields or to gardens."

In 1823 the Strand Road was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, though it injured the ship-builders, who had docks in Clive Street, and were obliged to remove to Howrah and Sulkea.

The continuation of the Strand Road to Garden Reach was commenced in the early part of 1828. The expense was estimated at about a lakh-and-a-half of rupees, which it was hoped to cover by a toll on carriages and passengers going over the bridge across the mouth of Tolly's Nullah.

Aga Kerbulin Mahommed, who had already strikingly evinced his liberality and public spirit by a handsome contribution for the extension of the Strand Road to Garden Reach in the early part of 1829, contributed ten thousand rupees for the purpose of erecting a steam engine on the river at Baugh Bazar Ghaut during the dry season.

Between Government House and Garden Reach is a broad open plain, about 150 acres in extent, called the Esplanade (Hindustani, *maidan*). It is laid out with fine broad macadamized roads, bordered with trees: the space between the roads is plain turf. Along the river's bank are the Eden Gardens, where is seen, in the evenings, the great show of fashionables out for the purpose of enjoying a drive—"eating the air" (*howa-khana*) as the natives express it.

Tank (now Dalhousie) Square, covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground, and was in the last century, "in the middle of the city." Stavorinus states—"It was dug by order

of Government to provide the inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and pleasant. The number of springs, which it contains, makes the water in it nearly always on the same level. It is railed round; no one may wash in it." At what time this tank was dug, we cannot ascertain. Hamilton wrote in 1702 that the Governor "has a handsome house in the Fort: the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governor herbage and fruits at table, and some fish ponds to serve his kitchen with good carp, callops and mullet." Perhaps the tank was one of the fish ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park or Tank Square. The tank was cleansed and embanked in Warren Hastings' time. The name of the Park was originally "The Green before the Fort," and afforded the residents of the fort a place for recreation and amusement.

Wellington Square tank was excavated in 1822. It was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee.

Chowringhee is a place of modern creation, having been chosen by the people of Calcutta as a garden retreat. In 1768 there were here a few European country houses; this part of the city was considered "out of town," and palkee-bearers charged double fares for going to it; while, at night, "servants returned from it in parties, having left their good clothes behind through fear of dacoits, which infested the outskirts of Chowringhee." There were once only two houses there. One was Sir Elijah Impey's, the very house since occupied as the Nunnery,* a third storey only being added to it. On the site of the nunnery church was a tank called Gole Tulao; the surrounding quarter was Impey's park, which stretched to Chowringhee Road on the west, and to Park Street on the north; an avenue of trees led through what is now Middleton Street into Park Street from his house, which was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank being in front, and plenty of room for a

* The Loreto Convent in Middleton Row.

deer-park. A guard of sepoys was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, occasionally firing off their muskets to keep off the dacoits. The other house was what was afterwards St. Paul's school. In 1794 the residences in Chowringhee had increased to twenty-four, scattered between Durrumtollah and Brijetalao, the Circular Road and the Plain.

GHAUTS OR LANDING PLACES.

Colvin's Ghaut was formerly called the *Kutcha Goodee* Ghaut, or the place for careening native boats. They were hauled up on the banks of a narrow canal which ran through the town from this point to the Salt Water Lake. It was filled up, and no trace of it is to be seen except in the old maps. It was on the bank of this creek, on the spot afterwards occupied by the Bengal Secretariat, that the southern battery of the old fort was thrown up in 1756.

In the immediate vicinity of Colvin's Ghaut is the Police Ghaut, now adorned by the Metcalfe Hall, and there, in ancient times, before the capture of Calcutta, stood the house and ground of the President. The garden appears to have extended from the river to Tank (now Dalhousie) Square, then called the Park. A neat gateway terminated the Governor's garden in front of the Park, and it was from this gateway that he is described as walking down to the church, which stood at the western end of the Writers' Buildings, doubtless after his worthy masters had informed him, in 1728, that if he wanted a chaise and pair he must pay for them himself.

Coelah (or *Koila*) Ghaut was formerly known as the New Wharf, and the old Custom House arose immediately above it. This ghaut stood at the southern extremity of the old Fort and marks the northern limit of that fortress.

Chandpal Ghaut lies near the steam engine which so long supplied with water the aqueducts from which some of the streets were watered. Tradition connects the appellation of

the ghaut with a native of the name of Chandru Pal, who kept a little grocer's shop in its immediate vicinity. This is the spot where India welcomes and bids adieu to her rulers. It is here that the Governors-General, the Commanders-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme (now High) Court, the Bishops, and all who are entitled to the honors of a salute from the ramparts of Fort William, first set foot in the metropolis. It is not noticed in Joseph's Map of 1756, but we know that it was in existence in 1774 when Francis and his companions landed here, having had their sweet tempers soured by a five days' voyage from Kedgeree. It was here that the author of *Junius* counted one by one the guns, which boomed from the Fort, and found to his mortification that their number did not exceed seventeen, when he expected nineteen. And it was here that the first Judges of the Supreme Court, who came out to redress the wrongs of India, landed. It was here, that the Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded to witness his advent, exclaimed to his colleague, "See, brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not surely established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings."

Prinsep's Ghaut, which is situated under the south-west angle of Fort William, was erected by public subscription to perpetuate the memory of James Prinsep, one of the most eminent men of his day, who after a short and brilliant career, fell a sacrifice to his ardour in the pursuit of science. It is a huge and ugly pile, on which a large sum was expended without taste or judgment. Its locality is as objectionable as its architecture. It is entirely out of the way of public convenience, and is seldom used as a landing-stairs. The most memorable event connected with it is the departure of Lord Ellenborough, who instead of embarking, as all his predecessors had done, at Chandpal Ghaut, thought fit to

gratify his military predilections by driving with his cortége through the Fort, and taking his farewell of Calcutta on the steps of Prinsep's Ghaut.

PLACES OF NOTE IN THE IMMEDIATE VICINITY.

Upwards of a century and-a-half ago, Barrackpore and its precincts formed the Tusulum of that old Anglo-Indian patriarch, Job Charnock, the founder of Calcutta. He used to come hither, not so much to avoid the dust and bother of his bustling capital, as to be near the grave where there rested one with whom his heart still beat in sympathy. This is in allusion to his wife—a Hindoo woman, whom he had espoused after rescuing from burning on the funeral pile of her deceased husband.

Titaghur, about a mile and half distant from Barrackpore, was once a scene of life and activity, about eighty years ago. Messrs. Hamilton and Aberdeen, enterprizing merchants of Calcutta, etablished a dockyard there at the beginning of the present century, and in 1801, the largest merchantman ever built on the Hooghly, the *Countess of Sutherland*, of 1445 tons, was launched there. The next year the *Susan*, of humbler dimensions, was built there, and in 1803, the *Frederick* of 450 tons. This appears to have been the last vessel constructed at the Titaghur dockyard, which was soon after closed, and of which not a single vestige now remains. A stone's throw from the site of the old dockyard is a ghaut with some dilapidated temples above it, which is still remembered as the place where for thirty years Dr. Carey landed and embarked as he went down to Calcutta and returned from it twice a week, to deliver lectures in Fort William College.

Barrackpore Park was created by the taste and public spirit of Lord Wellesley, seventy years ago, and to which all subsequent Governors-General have retired from the noise and bustle of the town to rural privacy. It was originally the intention of Lord Wellesly to have brought all the public offices up

from Calcutta and established them in the vicinity of the Park. It was with this object that he erected a large bungalow, on the site of the present house, for a temporary residence, and near it he laid the foundation of a palace which was to have cost four lakhs of rupees. But the Court of Directors peremptorily prohibited the outlay of so large a sum on such an object, and the work was suspended, after the basement storey had been erected. The beams, doors, and windows, and all the other materials, which had been collected, were sold by auction ; but the shell of the house stood for many years, till the Marchioness of Hastings pulled it down, and erected a conservatory on its site. The temporary bungalow, which Lord Wellesley had erected, served the turn of Lord Minto, who spent much of his time at Barrackpore with his family, but the Marquis of Hastings enlarged it into the present more commodious mansion.

As a specimen of architecture, the Barrackpore palace has scarcely any claims to excellence. The Marquis Wellesley had originally commenced this building with the intention of making it a suitable abode of one who had subverted the throne of Tippoo, humbled the power of the Mahrattas, and numbered among his protegès the Great Mogul of Delhi. The house is adorned with some excellent portraits of the royal family of Oude, from the pencil of Mr. Home.

Barrackpore is known by the natives only by the name of *Chanuck*, from the circumstance of Charnock having established a bungalow there and gathered a little bazar around it. Troops were first stationed at Barrackpore in 1772, and from that time forward it has acquired the barbarous name of Barrackpore among Europeans, an unnatural compound of an English word and a Sanscrit termination.

Turning round the bed of the river at Barrackpore we come to the village of Muneerampore, at the northern end of which is the house and garden once occupied by General

Marley, long the father of the Indian Army, who arrived in India in the year 1771, and died in 1842, after a residence of seventy-one years in it.

North of Cossipore lies Barnagore, well dotted with brick houses, which indicate the remains of that opulence which grew up with the commercial establishments of the Dutch. During the greater part of the last century this settlement belonged to them, and here their vessels anchored on their way to Chinsurah. It is said to have been originally a Portuguese establishment. It was a place of considerable trade when Calcutta was the abode of wild beasts.

To the north of Dukhinsore lies the Powder Magazine. More than twenty lakhs of rupees have been expended in the erection of steam-engines and country houses, in the space between Dukhinsore and the Chitpore Canal, in a range of less than three miles.

Sook Saugor was formerly at a considerable distance from the river, which has of late made fearful encroachment, and has not left a vestige of the magnificent house of the Revenue Board that cost a lakh and-half in its erection. The Marquis of Cornwallis and suite used often in the hot weather to retire to it, as it was the government country-seat before the establishment of Barrackpore. The house of Mr. Barretto, and a Roman Catholic Chapel erected by him in 1789, at a cost of 9,000 rupees, have also been washed away. Mr. Barretto here had a rum distillery in 1792, as also sugar works; in his time the place was called Chota Calcutta. On Clive passing Sook Saugor, a small battery there gave him a salute, he imagining it to be an enemy's entrenchment, ordered it to be dismantled. On the courts being removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta in 1772, the Revenue Board was fixed there, as it was thought more suitable than Calcutta, from being in the country. Forster in 1789, gives the following description of Sook Saugor:—

"Sook Saugor is a valuable and rising plantation, the property of Messrs. Crofts and Lennox; and these gentlemen have established at this place a fabric of white cloth, of which the Company provide an annual investment of two lakhs of rupees; they have also founded a raw silk manufactory, which as it bears the appearance of increase and improvement, will, I hope, reward the industrious, estimable labours of its proprietors." The encroachments of the river, together with the formation of a large bazar at Chagda, a short distance north of the town, have led to the decay of Sook Saugor, which owed much of its prosperity to Mr. Barretto, who made many roads there, planted with *neem* trees on both sides, which remain to this day.

CHAPTER VII.

ROUND THE CAPE.

In former days, when wives were few and native mistresses many, the greater number of residents were tied to India, and had little inducement to quit it. Now, however, wives are many—mistresses few. A married man has many inducements to visit his home; his wife's health may require it; his children, perhaps, are sufficiently advanced in years to render it necessary that they should be removed to England for the sake both of physical health and mental culture. The voyage has now no terrors for delicate women or young children. Times have greatly changed since that excellent man, Mr. Shore (afterwards Lord Teignmouth) was twice under the necessity of tearing himself from a wife to whom he was fondly attached, rather than that she should brave the horrors of the deep, and the dangers of so savage a country as India, by accompanying him to the scene of his labours.

At the present period of rapid locomotion it may be interesting to look back to the time of our ancestors, when the ships of the season made their passage between London and Calcutta in six months. These may be considered the quick runs, for we usually come across lamentations in the papers of much longer time being taken in the voyage. "Seven months and-a-half have now elapsed since the date of the latest advices from Europe!" is the exclamation of the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette*, in his paper of the 4th May, 1809; and we find the announcement of the arrival of a Dutch East Indiaman named *The Stuart* on the 24th March, 1789, which had been fourteen months on her voyage from Amsterdam to Bengal.

Here is a programme of how the Honorable Company's ships wasted many precious days in the commencement of

their voyage :—"The *Earl Talbot* is to be afloat the 7th of April, sail to Gravesend the 21st ditto, stay there twenty days, in the Downs the 17th May, stay there ten days." Thus about a month was expended before the vessel fairly reached the sea. Then there was a stay of four or five days at Madeira, two or more days at St. Helena, and a week or more at the Cape: these detentions, no doubt, contributed much to the pleasantness of the voyage, and broke the monotony of a long sea life; but it added very considerably to the time occupied in transit. This was in 1792, and such continued to be the custom till about 1830, when more rapid voyages began to be made, and competition to reign in the souls of merchant-ship captains; so that in the course of a few years after, the *Seringapatam* and other vessels made the entire trip from Portsmouth to Calcutta in seventy-nine, seventy-eight and even seventy-seven days, without the aid of steam as an auxiliary power.

The island of St. Helena was in those days a port of call for both inward and outward bound Indiamen and ships of war, and a return of vessels which touched there during the twelve months from the 15th March 1793 to the 14th March 1794 shows a large total. Scarcely one vessel in a hundred ever now touches at the island. The return gives us the following information:—March in 15 days 8 vessels; during April 16; May 14; June 16; July 8; August 6; September 11; October 3; November 3; December 7; January, 1794, 8; February 8; March 5. Total 113 vessels. And their period of stay ranged from three days to nearly a month.

The Court allowed no one to go to India without a pass, and were, strange to say, rather chary of increasing the number of European ladies. A Miss Campbell took her passage on board the *Hardwicke* for Madeira, and there being some suspicion that she intended proceeding on, thence, to India, the Court wrote to the Calcutta Government, under date January 31, 1755—"If, therefore, she shall be landed at Bengal, or at any of

the settlements under your presidency, you are hereby positively ordered to take effectual care that she is sent back to England at the expense of the owners of the *Hardwicke* upon the first ship you shall despatch." At this time annual lists of all residents in Calcutta had to be sent to London, which were carefully examined, and in one instance, the name of Miss Christian Ross being discovered as among the residents in Calcutta in 1754, she was ordered to leave the country. However, she had left of her own accord previously.

The first European ladies who made the voyage to India were Portuguese. According to Pietro Della Valle, who visited India in 1623, we learn that the King of Portugal took upon himself to send a small annual investment of female orphans to India for the especial use of the settlers on the western coast:—"Poor, but well descended orphans," he writes, "which were wont to be sent from Portugal every year at the King's charge with a dowry which the King gives them, to the end they may be married in India, in order to further the peopling of the Portugal colonies in those parts." Of the first adventurers among English ladies we can find no account. At the time of the Black Hole affair (1756) there were several ladies in Calcutta. One, an East Indian, was among the sufferers; but we know not what the others who were carried off safely to the shipping, may have been. Mr. Ives, in 1757, tells us that the supercargo of the *Futtay Salaam* died at Galle, his "illness being occasioned by a cold he caught in dancing with some ladies who were just arrived from Europe."

A Madras correspondent writes to Mr. Hicky in July 1780:—"In my last I sent you an account of the number of ladies which had arrived in the late ships; there came *eleven in one vessel;* too great a number for the peace and good order of a round house. Millinery must rise at least 25 per cent., for the above ladies when they left England, were well stocked with head-dresses of different kinds, formed to

the highest *ton*. But from the unfortunate disputes which daily arose during the space of the three last months of the passage, they had scarce a cap left when they arrived." We find on referring to the journals of the day, that few ships arrived without bringing a little knot of spinsters, and that many of these very soon threw off their spinsterhood. The marriage announcements raise a smile. The bride is always duly gazetted as "a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments, recently arrived in the *Minerva;*" or "an agreeable young lady who lately arrived in the *Ceres* from England."

The Court of Directors had in 1775 and also in 1778 issued rates of passage money on their various vessels for officers proceeding to India, but these rates had evidently been exceeded by the commanders of some of the ships; so on the 5th March, 1795, the following schedule, dated 2nd July, 1794, was published as the authorized rates for the passage and accommodation of persons to India, and which were not to be exceeded :—

General officers	£ 250
Gentlemen of council or colonels	„ 200
Lieutenant-Colonels, majors, senior merchants, junior merchants and factors	„ 150
Captains	„ 125
Writers, lieutenants, and ensigns	„ 105
Cadets and assistant surgeons	„ 70

At a Court of Directors of the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies," held on the 8th October, 1784, it was—

"Resolved, that the captains and officers of all ships that shall sail from any part of India, after receiving notice hereof shall be allowed to bring eight thousand pieces of piece-goods and no more, on paying the customs, and to the Company five pounds per cent. duty, and two pounds per cent. for

warehouse-room, &c.; that five thousand pieces, and no more, may consist of white muslins and callicoes, stitched or plain, or either of them, of which five thousand pieces, only two thousand pieces may consist of any of the following sorts., viz. Alliballies, Abrochs, Cossaes, Doreas, Jumdannies, Mulmuls, Nainsooks, Neckcloths, Tanjeebs, and Terrindams. That three thousand pieces, and no more, may consist of coloured piece-goods. That the number of pieces, of white piece-goods and the number of pieces of coloured piece-goods, shall be allowed to each officer in proportion to his allowance of tonnage homeward; that all exceedings of the above descriptions of piece-goods be charged with twenty pounds per cent. over and above the customs, five pounds per cent. duty, and two pounds per cent. warehouse-room. And that no deviation be made from this Resolution on any account or pretence whatsoever."

Passengers in the Company's ships going home were in the habit of taking with them a very large amount of goods of various kinds, which they passed as baggage; this came to the notice of the Court of Directors, who found on investigation, that in one vessel lately arrived, "the space occupied by the passengers' baggage amounted to the immense quantity of *sixty-three tons*." Restrictions were thereupon placed upon the amount of baggage allowed to passengers going home. The following scale was published on the 11th February, 1802:—

Gentlemen of council and general officers ...	5 tons each.
Colonels and senior merchants	4 do.
Lieutenant-Colonels and junior merchants ...	3 do.
Majors and factors	2½ do.
Captains	2 do.
Writers, lieutenants, and ensigns ...	1 do.

One-half more tonnage to be added when families were taken home.

All these rates were "exclusive of their bedding, a table and a sopha, or two chairs for their respective cabins."

When Earl Moira came out as Governor-General on board the *Sterling Castle* in 1813, there were nearly six hundred packages of goods on board brought out on his account.

The rates of freight on the Company's ships were £15 per pipe of wine, and £30-10 per ton for all goods laden on the "regular" ships of the season. These rates were before 1795; in that year they were reduced to £7-10 per ton outwards, and £22-10 per ton homewards.

The rates of insurance in London on the 8th of September, 1797, on ships to and from the East Indies were:—

To Bengal, Madras, China, &c. home	12 gs. p. £100
To Bengal or China	8 guineas
Extra ships to the East Indies and home	18 do.
Ditto ditto out	10 do.
Ditto from the East Indies to London	15 do.

What reminiscences does the following advertisement call up:—"For sale by auction on the 29th May, 1792, a large upper-roomed house and premises, situate at Kedgeree, containing a hall, four bed-rooms, and an open verandah, standing on eight biggas of ground, more or less." It is within our own recollection, when (in 1824) all the Company's passenger ships, and in fact all vessels except salt hoys and coasting craft, used to lie off Kedgeree, where they discharged and loaded both passengers and cargo. Kedgeree was rather a populous town then, and possessed one or more large taverns, where passengers were accustomed to stay till the sailing of the vessels in which they had taken their passage. Sea-going pinnaces used to take the passengers down from Calcutta to Kedgeree. The taverns, bungalows, and indeed almost all the buildings there have been swept away since those days, by the encroachments of the sea.

The following novel mode of obtaining fresh water at sea, was put in practice by the captain of a vessel while on a voyage from the South Seas to the Cape, in 1803, and we suppose it was the first experiment of the kind ever made, and was the origin of the machinery for the supply of pure drinking water on board of all sea-going vessels of the present day. "We soon felt the want of water," says Captain Myers, the writer of some interesting voyages and travels round the world,—"and how to be supplied with it became a matter of consideration. As 'necessity is the parent of invention,' we commenced an experiment on salt water with a tea kettle over one of the boilers in the cook house. This rude process of distillation soon supplied us with a quantity of good water, daily replenished with our alembic. The plan of operation was certainly simple, and the apparatus by no means complex. The neck of the tea kettle was closely luted to the neck of the boiler, by which means it condensed the steam and the fluid ran through the pipe, and by the addition of a tube conducted into a cask. By this mode of operation we were enabled to draw off above ten gallons of good water per day."

The use of limes in cases of men suffering from scurvy on board ship is noticed in a newspaper of 1804. The captain of the *Sir William Pulteney* on his voyage out, having had several cases of scurvy, gave each of the men so diseased two limes, every day, which were eaten whole with their meal of rice. The beneficial effects of the limes were soon evident, and in about three weeks from the time of serving out the limes all the symptoms of the scurvy had vanished, and no more cases occurred. The limes had been put on board by the Government as an experiment.

CHAPTER VIII.

INNER LIFE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS.

THE following, from *Macintosh's Travels* is a "particular" account of the day, as it was commonly spent by Englishmen in Bengal, as portrayed in a letter from a resident in Calcutta, to his friend in London, dated Calcutta, 23rd December, 1779:—"About the hour of seven in the morning, his durwan (door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen), harcarrahs (messengers or spies), chubdars (a kind of constables), houccaburdars and consumahs (stewards and butlers), writers and solicitors. The head bearer and jemmadar enter the hall, and his bed room at eight o'clock. A lady quits his side, and is conducted by a private staircase, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the master throws his legs out of bed, the whole posse in waiting rush into his room, each making three salams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inside of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He condescends, perhaps, to nod or cast an eye towards the solictors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean shirt, breeches, stockings, and slippers are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he was a statue. The barber enters, shaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chillumjee and ewer are brought by a servant whose duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to wash his hands and face, and presents a towel. The superior then walks in state to his breakfasting parlour in his waistcoat; is seated; the consumah makes and pours out his tea, and presents him with a plate of bread or toast. The hair-dresser comes behind, and begins his operation, while the houccaburdar softly slips the upper end of the snake or tube of

the houcca* into his hand; while the hair-dresser is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, sipping and smoking by turns. By and by his banian presents himself with humble salams, and advances somewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the solicitors are of eminence, they are honored with chairs. These ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the insignia of their professions, and their livery distinguished by the colour of their turbans and cumurbands (a long muslin belt wrapt round the waist), they move off at a quick amble; the set of bearers, consisting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertness, and without incommoding the master. If he has visits to make, his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if business renders his *presence only* necessary, he shows himself, and pursues his other engagements until two o'clock when he and his company sit down perfectly *at ease* in point of dress and address, to a good dinner, each attended by his own servant. And the moment the glasses are introduced, regardless of the company of ladies, the houccaburdars enter, each with a houcca, and presents the tube to his master, watching behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they shall return to supper, at 4 o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and step into their palanquins; so that in a few minutes, the master is left to go into his bed-room, when he is instantly undressed to his shirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down in his bed, where he sleeps till about

* The houcca is the machine from which the smoke of tobacco and aromatics are inhaled, through a tube of several feet, or even yards in length, which is called a snake. To show the deference or indulgence shown by ladies to the practice of smoking, we need but transcribe a card for the Governor-General's and his lady's concert and supper:—"Mr. and Mrs. Hastings present their compliments to Mr. ——, and request the favor of his company to a concert and supper, on Thursday next, at Mrs. H. ———'s house in town. The concert to begin at 8 o'clock. Mr. ———is requested to bring no servants except his houccaburdar.—1st October, 1779."

7 or 8 o'clock; then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind as in the morning, is administered: his houccaburdar presents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dresser performs his duty as before. After tea he puts on a handsome coat, and pays visits of ceremony to the ladies; returns a little before 10 o'clock; supper being served at 10. The company keep together till between 12 and 1 in the morning, preserving great sobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bed-room. With no greater exertions than these, do the Company's servants amass the most splendid fortunes." The writer of the above description has left out of view the morning ablution, so common and necessary to a resident of Calcutta. Surely in those early days such ablutions must have been just as necessary as they are in the present day.

It appears somewhat offensive to our old fashioned notions of propriety, to observe the mode in which ladies, some of rank and education, were in the early part of the nineteenth century accustomed to dispose of themselves at Calcutta and other presidencies. This will be seen from the following extract of a letter from a young lady, who in ignorance of the prevailing practice, had been induced to go out to India in one of the Company's fleets. The letter, which we take from Macintosh's Travels, was addressed by the lady to her cousin, in 1779, who had desired her to tell her the result of her adventures, and to give advice whether it would be fit for her to try the same experiment:—

"*My dearest Maria,*—With respect to your request that I should tell you plainly what I think of these matrimonial schemes (for such they are, let people disguise them as they will,) I never can impress upon you too strongly the folly and impropriety of your making such an attempt. Certainly, the very project itself is one of the utmost delicacy; for what is it but running counter to all the dictates of that diffidence and native modesty for which English women have been so long held up as the perfect models?

* * * * *

"True it is I am married; I have obtained that for which I came out to India—a husband; but I have lost what I left behind me in my native country—happiness. Yet my husband is rich, as rich, or richer, than I could desire; but his health is ruined, as well as his temper, and he has taken me rather as a convenience than as a companion; and he plays the tyrant over me with as much severity as if I were one of the slaves that carry his palanquin. I will just give you a hasty sketch of the manner in which I came by him. What a state of things is that, where the happiness of a wife depends upon the death of that man who should be the chief not the only source of her felicity. However such is the fact in India: the wives are looking out with gratitude for the next mortality that may carry off their husbands, in order that they may return to England to live upon their jointures; they live a married life, an absolute misery, that they may enjoy a widowhood of affluence and independence. This is no exaggeration, I assure you.

"You know that, independent of others, there were thirty of us females on board the H——, who sailed upon the same speculation; we were of all ages, complexions, and sizes, with little or nothing in common, but that we were single, and wished to get married. Some were absolutely old maids of the shrivelled and dry description, most of them above the age of fifty; while others were mere girls just freed from the tyranny of the dancing, music, and drawing masters at boarding school, ignorant of almost everything that was useful, and educated merely to cover the surface of their mental deformity. I promise you, to me it was no slight penance to be exposed during the whole voyage to the half sneering, satirical looks of the mates and guinea pigs,* and it would have been intolerable, but for the good conduct and politeness of Captain S———. He was a man of most gentlemanly deportment, but the involuntary compassion I fancied I sometimes discovered in him

* So the midshipmen on board Indiamen were called.

was extremely irksome. However, we will suppose our voyage ended for nothing at all material happened, and that we are now safely landed at Calcutta.

"This place has many houses of entertainment of all descriptions, and the gaiety that prevails after the arrival of a fleet from England is astonishing. The town is filled with military and civil officers of all classes; and the first thing done after we have recovered our looks, is for the captains to give an entertainment, to which they issue general invitations; and everybody, with the look and attendance of a gentleman, is at liberty to make his appearance. The speculative ladies, who have come out in the different ships, dress themselves with all the splendour they can assume, exhausting upon finery all the little stock of money they have brought out with them from Europe. This is in truth their last, or nearly their last stake, and they are all determined to look and dance as divinely as possible.

"Such are the majority of the ladies; while the gentlemen are principally composed of those who have for some time resided in the country, and having realised fortunes, are determined to obtain wives with as little delay as possible. They are, as I have said, of all ranks, but generally of pale and squalid complexions, and suffering under the grievous infliction of liver complaints. A pretty prospect this for matrimonial happiness! Not a few are old and infirm, leaning upon sticks and crutches, and even supported about the apartment by their gorgeously dressed servants, for a display of all kinds of splendour on their part is no less attempted and accomplished. These old decrepit gentlemen address themselves to the youngest and prettiest, and the youngest and prettiest, if properly instructed in their parts, betray no sort of coyness or reluctance. In fact, this is the mode in which matches are generally made; and if now and then one happy couple come together, thousands are married with no hope of comfort, and with a prospect merely of splendid misery.

Generally speaking, in India, the officers make the best husbands. for they are frequently young and uninjured by the climate, and are the best disposed to attend to the wishes of their wives.

"This is called the Captain's Ball, and most frequently the greater part of the expectant ladies are disposed of there; it is really curious, but most melancholy, to see them ranged round the room, waiting with the utmost anxiety for offers, and looking with envy upon all who are more fortunate than themselves.

"If however, as is sometimes the case, a considerable number remain on hand; after the lapse of about three months, they unite in giving an entertainment at their own expense, to which all gentlemen are at liberty to go; and if they fail in this *dernier ressort*, this forlorn hope, they must give up the attempt, and return to England."

On a young lady landing she was in a manner "exhibited" before those in search of partners. For the first three or four nights the house where she resided was beset with visitors, and probably the greater part of the night was spent in receiving such. It was the rule to "strike the iron while hot," and marriages were concluded as quickly as possible. But the Governor-General's licence to be married was necessary to constitute it a legal one. On occasion of marriages the officiating minister was accustomed to receive as his fee from sixteen to twenty gold mohurs, and five gold mohurs for a baptism. No wonder that the chaplains were able to make such splendid fortunes in a short time.

We cull a portion of a poetical letter said to have been written by a lady in Calcutta, to her friend in England, describing how she spent her time during the day:—

> "After a sultry restless night,
> Tormented with the hum and bite
> Of pois'nous insects out of number,
> That here infest one's midnight slumber,
> I rise fatigued, almost expended,
> Yet suddenly when breakfast's ended,

Away we hurry with our fops
To rummage o'er the Europe shops:
And when of caps and gauze we hear,
Oh! how we scramble for a share!
Then should some two with keen desire
The self-same lace or fringe admire,
What sharp contention, arch remarks,
Whilst trembling wait our anxious sparks.
What smart rejoinders and replies,
Whilst lightnings flash from gentle eyes:
Let prudes declaim on ease and grace,
This animates a charming face,
This sets the blood in circulation,
And gives the town some conversation.
At table, next, you'd see us seated,
In liberal style with plenty treated.
Near me a gentle swain, with leave
To rank himself my humble slave.
Well, here I know I'm at my task,
Ten thousand things I know you'd ask,
As "what's his age, his size, his face,"
His mind and manners next you'd trace,
His purse, dear girl; the custom here
First points to that; so *en premier*,
A chief, my Strephon was before,
At some strange place that ends with *pore*,
Where dext'rously he swell'd his store
Of lacks, and yet is adding more."

The following lines, taken from a spirited *jeu d'esprit*, a parody on "The Splendid Shilling" by Philips, appeared in a Calcutta periodical about 1812; we extract them as they have reference to those pleasant companions of dwellers in the Plains, the musquitoes:—

"So pass my days. But when nocturnal shades
This world envelope, and the sultry air
Persuades men to allay their parching thirst
With pleasing wines, and plates of cooling ice!
Me, bilious sitting, midst ten thousand swarms
Of curs'd musquitoes, in a narrow room,
Itching, behold! and feed with dismal thoughts
My anxious mind, or sometimes, take a flute

And play *Mol Roe*, or mournful *March in Saul;*
Or muse on banish'd youth, and poor cadets,
Or rum orthographers, and A, B, C!
Meanwhile I labor with eternal itch,
And restless scratch and rave; my bitten legs
Find no relief, nor heavy eyes repose:
But if a slumber haply does invade
My weary limbs; my fancy still awake,
Thoughtful of ease, and eager in a dream,
Murders imaginary swarms of flies,
In vain—awake, I find their cursed bites
Still itching, and the pleasing phantom curse."

A poem, entitled "Calcutta" affords a "remarkably correct and happy picture of the passing scenes and feelings of an Indian life." The book is out of print, but some extracts from it we have come across, may amuse our readers of the present day. A youth recently from England, and destined for the civil service, who is in his *griffinage*, full of extravagant but disappointed hopes, and fond of pleasure, thus breaks out in poetic language:—

"Curse on the ship in evil hour that bore
My jolted frame to India's burning shore!
An inauspicious hour from which I date
The bitter torments of a wretched fate:
Deluded, listening to the tales they told,
Lands rich in mines, and rivers streaming gold;
Whence twelve short years, in Luxury's lap beguiled,
Would bear me homeward, Fortune's favorite child;
To pass my days in some secure retreat,
Or grace the mazes of St James' Street.

* * * * *

Now, sad reverse! the rich delusion flies,
House, park and carriage, vanish from my eyes!
Condemned, alas! twelve tedious years to burn,
Nor dare the vast expenses of return,
When all the savings of attentive care
Would scarcely buy a cabin eight feet square."

We hasten over the poem to give an extract of the usual evening airing, when people were accustomed, as they are now, to sniff the air on the Hooghly's bank on the "Course" or public drive:—

" Sedate they quit the ruminating chair,
And breathe abroad the ev'ning dust and air.
* * * *
What time, when dripping with exhaling sap,
The gross beer drinker rises from his nap,
And forth unanimously joyed to break
The long arrest, and revel while awake,
Full many a soddened form in jacket white,
Wings from the thronging Course his airy flight,
Borne on the steed, or perched with whip and reins,
In a dear specimen of Steuart's pains.
Fast roll the wheels; the syce, with equal pace,
Grasps the kind aid of some befriending brace,
And dragged, and whirled, with chowrie in his hand,
Longs for the attractions of the fav'rite band,
When his own saheb, to harmony alive,
May join the crowds deserting from the drive,
And o'er the trembling drawbridge rattling hard,
Rush to the pleasures of the promenade."

We shall close with a description of the concomitants of refection in the East, the pleasures of which, as here depicted, an Englishman in England would hardly credit:—

" Let then the swinish epicure confess
His abject love to wallow in excess!
" Drink now," he cries, "and heap the groaning board
With every taste that orient climes afford."
Say, do his ravished eyes with transport glow,
Or heavy sighs attest the glutton's woe?
Alas! creative nature calls to light
Myriads of winged forms in sportive flight.
On every dish the bouncing beetle falls,
The cockroach plays, or caterpillar crawls;
A thousand shapes of variegated hues
Parade the table and inspect the stews!
The living walls the swarming hundreds stick,
Or court, a dainty meal, the oily wick;

Heaps over heaps their slimy bodies drench,
Outgo the lamps with suffocating stench !
O England ! show, with all thy *fabled* bliss,
One scene of real happiness like this ! "

Drinking had long been one of the "rational" amusements with which our ancestors sought to beguile the time. Arrack punch would seem to have been the first beverage to which the English in India addicted themselves—and it often proved to be the last. A traveller of the time speaks of another beverage as ruinous—"We conversed together for some time, drinking a little of hot wine boiled with cloves, cinnamon and other spices, which the English call *burnt wine*, and used to drink frequently in the morning, to comfort their stomach." With such a habit it is not surprising that it was said of the people that "their lives were not worth two monsoons." At a later period there was a Persian wine, much in favor, which Mr. Ives (1757) tells us was supplied by the Company to its servants at the western factories; and was "the best he ever tasted, except claret." It was not very long, however, before European beers and wines were imported, and consumed by those who could afford to pay the high prices then fixed on these now most accessible beverages. Punch and sherbet, being always cheap, were the common drinks of the young military men; and pretty freely were they consumed, at all hours, from morning to night. And to this slow poison it may be confidently asserted that a very large proportion of the annual mortality may be attributed. Towards the end of the century, this vice began to decline. Men found that it was better to live than to drink themselves into untimely graves. Mr. Tennant, writing in 1796, says—"Regularity of living and temperance are much more prevalent among the present inhabitants than the first adventurers."

The *hookah* was the grand whiler away of time with our ancestors in old Calcutta. East Indian ladies were said to have been much addicted to its use, while gentlemen, instead of their perusal of a paper "furnishing the head with politics and the

heart with scandal," indulged themselves with the hookah's fume, while under the hands of the perruquier in the days when powder and pig-tails were in fashion. Grand Pré thus notices the hookah and its attendant the hookaburdar:—"Every hookaburdar prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range themselves round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry for silence, till the noise subsides and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these ciscumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his hookah he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his hookah. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his hookah, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of a trivial importance; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend, and often still more to a husband."

Among the advertisements of an European firm in Calcutta in 1792, we observe "Elegant Hookah bottoms—urn shaped, richly cut, with plates and mouthpieces." As noticed before, the long hookah was considered not only fashionable but an indispensable article in the dining-room at every house of elegance and respectability, and a hookah rug constituted one of the carpet work fancies of young ladies of the day, as presents to those of their relatives and friends whom they respected or loved. We remember the time when the hookah was introduced with the dessert, and we have seen thirty hookahs on each side of the table, one behind almost every diner, with its respective hookahburdar feeding the chillum (reservoir which contained the tobacco) and keeping up the red glow of the *gool* (ball of fire) while his master was employed in converse with his neighbours.

The gurgle-gurgle of these sixty hookahs was strange music, and rather discordant, but no dinner would have been considered *the thing* without such accompaniment. It was not till 1840 that the practice began to fall into disuse.

Mrs. Fay writes of card-playing :—"After tea, either cards or music fill up the space till ten, when supper is generally announced. Five-card loo is the usual game ; and they play a rupee a fish, limited to ten. This will strike you as being enormously high, but it is thought nothing of here. Tredille and whist are much in fashion, but ladies seldom join in the latter ; for though the stakes are moderate, bets frequently run high among the gentlemen, which renders those anxious who sit down for amusement, lest others should lose by their blunders."

"Physic," *Hartley House* states, in the last century, "as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors to work it at will. The medical men in Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a gold mohur from each patient for every common attendance ; extras are enormous ; medicines are also rated so high, that it is shocking to think of : in order to soften which public evil, as much as possible, an apothecary's shop is opened at the Old Fort, by the Company, in the nature of your London dispensaries, where drugs are vended upon reasonable terms. The following charges are specimens of the expenses those Europeans incur, who sacrifice to appearances. An ounce of bark, three rupees : an ounce of salts, one rupee ; a bolus, one rupee ; a blister, two rupees ;—and so on, in proportion ; so that literally speaking, you may ruin your fortune, to preserve your life."

Dr. Halliday brought a claim in the Calcutta Court of Requests, on the 2nd July, 1828, against the executors of the late Mr. Joseph, "of Sicca rupees 384, for six visits paid by him to the deceased at the rate of Sicca rupees 64 for each visit." Prosecutor was nonsuited on account of absence. We notice

the case, only as an evidence of the high charge made by medical men for their visits in those days.

Williamson writes of gentlemen's dress before 1800:—"In many instances these evening visits are paid in a very airy manner; coats being often dispensed with; the gentlemen wearing only an upper and an under waistcoat both of white linen and the former having sleeves. Such would appear an extraordinary freedom, were it not established by custom, though it generally happens that gentlemen newly arrived from Europe, especially the officers of His Majesty's regiments, wear their coats and prefer undergoing a kind of warm bath of the most distressing description both to themselves and to their neighbours; but in the course of time, they fall in with the local usages, and though they may enter the room in that cumbrous habit, rarely fail to divest themselves of it as soon as the first ceremonies are over, in favor of an upper waistcoat which a servant has in readiness." Lord Valentia in 1804, states that English black alpaca began to be considered more fashionable and soon superseded the white linen waistcoat. There was one singular article of dress, to which Grand Pré alludes. He says:—"To be secure from the attacks of musquitoes it is the custom to wear within doors, if one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, *paste-board round the legs.*"

An excellent expression is that, "*durwaza bund*,"* and one to which several meanings are attached. "In some instances it implies that the lady of the house is lazy, and has not dressed to receive visitors; in others that baby is ill, or perhaps otherwise occupied, and that she is attending on it: on some occasions, that she is suffering from one or other of the numerous forms of indisposition that afflict the sex in India. All these are valid excuses in their way; but how comes it that at such and such a house where we received this message, we saw, standing in the compound, a buggy and horse extremely like

* The door is shut.

those of Captain Snooks, of one of the native regiments that after four years' residence at the station mutinied and dissolved themselves?" How can we reconcile this little fact with the message we have just received? The interpretation is, however, easy. It signifies that the lady is more agreeably occupied than she would be if receiving us."

The introduction of tatties into Calcutta is mentioned in a letter from Dr. Campbell, dated 10th May, 1789;—"We have had very hot winds and delightful cool houses. Everybody uses tatties now. They are delightful contrivances. My hall, by means of tatties, has been cool as in Europe, while the other rooms were uninhabitable, twenty-five degrees difference by Fahrenheit's thermometer." Tatties are, however, dangerous when you are obliged to leave them and go abroad; the heat acts so powerfully on the body that you are commonly affected with a severe catarrh."

Tiffins (lunch) seem to have come into use in Calcutta with the present century—and the dinner hour, which had been growing later and later in the day, to have been thrown back about the same time suddenly to the evening. Lord Valentia, who visited Calcutta about 1805, says:—"It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant before sunrise. At 12 they take a hot meal, which they call tiffin, and they generally go to bed for two or three hours. The dinner hour is commonly between 7 and 8, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time and keeps them up till midnight or later."

The *Siesta* or mid-day rest, so common in Italy and all tropical countries, so refreshing to early risers, generally succeeded the early dinner of former times. The siesta was, however, sometimes fatal under circumstances like those Hadley relates—"Having ate heartily of meats, and drank a quantity of porter, they throw themselves on the bed undressed, the

windows and doors open. A profuse perspiration ensues, which is often suddenly checked by a cold north-west wind. This brings on what is called a pucka (putrid) fever, which will often terminate in death in six hours, particularly with people of a corpulent, plethoric habit of body. And we have known two instances of dining with a gentleman, and being invited to his burial before supper time."

Hotels generally were not established in Calcutta till about 1810; previous to that there were taverns in the Lall Bazar and Cassitollah. In 1780, however, we find an advertisement of a hotel in Calcutta to be kept by Sir E. Impey's "late steward and Sir T. Rumbold's late cook," where there were "turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded, and families supplied with pastry." On the increase of strangers and temporary residents in Calcutta, the cost and inconvenience of furnishing a whole house, led to the setting up of boarding houses. The "Wilson" of 1800 was established at Fultah, where a large establishment was maintained for families and single ladies, who had to embark and disembark there on account of the tide.

Hanging punkahs are said by one authority to have originated in Calcutta by accident, towards the close of last century. It is reported that a clerk in a Government office suspended the leaf of a table, which was accidentally waved to and fro by a visitor. A breath of cool air followed the movement, and suggested the idea which was worked out and resulted in the present machine. Before this discovery fans or chowries made of palm leaves, only were used. A class of natives was employed for using these fans; they were called "Kittesol boys," and were dressed "in white muslin jackets tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England, with white turbans, bound by the same colored ribband."

The furniture in houses in Calcutta was much less last century than now, as besides the expense of European furniture

in those days, it was considered not proper to have the rooms furnished with articles beyond the actual necessaries, as it was supposed that much furniture heated the house and afforded, shelter to vermin, which were then more abundant from the swamps near Calcutta. Mrs. Kindersley writes on this subject in 1767.—"Furniture is so exorbitantly dear, and so difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the chairs are of one sort; people of first consequence are forced to pick them up as they can, either from the captains of Europe ships or from China, or having sets made by blundering carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay which are generally received about three years after they are bespoke; so that those people who have great good luck, generally get their houses tolerably well equipped by the time they are quitting them to return to England."

Old Indians were, in bygone times, generally conceived to be distinguished for excessive wealth, diseased livers, a repulsive querulousness, of manner, and a luxurious way of life. That large fortunes were made sometimes, and that the extreme of oriental luxury was indulged in by some European residents, and hence imported in a modified form into the west, is a fact sufficiently well established for us most willingly to concede; but we question whether these examples ought not rather to be regarded as forming the exceptions than the rule. The truth is, that in the old times very few returned to England at all; and that as these returned with large fortunes—rarely or never honestly acquired—an impression soon got abroad that India was an El Dorado, and that pagodas and rupees were to be had for the mere stooping to pick them up. This was a sad mistake. As regards the general prospects of the European adventurer, we hesitate not to say that they were far less cheering than they are at the present time. The gloomy side of the picture has not been exposed to view; but if the whole truth were to be told, how much of the wretchedness and desolation of friendless exile would be set down in the chronicle—how many sad tales of

homeless want and disconsolate sorrow, and sickness, unrelieved by one gleam of kindness and comfort, would be told. There was, in those days, much more to wrestle against at the outset, much more to try, perhaps to break, the strongest spirit. They who triumphed, triumphed not in vain; but how many were beaten down. When Mr. Shore arrived in India as a writer in 1769, his salary was—*eight rupees a month*; and this too in the Secret and Political Department. When Sir Thomas Munro arrived in India as a cadet, in 1780, his pay was five pagodas a month with free quarters, or ten pagodas without. "Of the five pagodas," said Mr. Munro, "I pay two to a Dubash, one to the servants of the Mess, and one for hair dressing and washing; so that I have one pagoda per month to feed and clothe me." Fortunate young man!

We differ from our forefathers in nothing more remarkably than in the distribution of our time. We have been gradually getting into later and later hours; lengthening out the day for purposes of business, and assimilating our customs to those which obtain at home. "The writers," says Mr. Forbes in his *Memoirs*, "at the period of my arrival at Bombay, (1765) and during the whole time of my officiating in that capacity, were fully engaged from 9 o'clock to 12, when they retired from their respective offices to dinner, which was then at 1 o'clock in every class of English society. At 2 the writers returned to their employment until 5; when, after a dish of tea, a social walk on a fine sandy beach, open to the salubrious western breeze, gave us a keener appetite for supper than our scanty pittance of thirty rupees per month could furnish. Such was our constant practice six days in the week." And as it was at Bombay so was it in Calcutta. Writing in 1783, Mrs. Fay, the wife of a barrister, says,—"The dinner hour here is 2, and it is customary to sit a long while at table; particularly during the cold weather. During dinner a good deal of wine is drank, but very little after the cloth is removed, except in bachelor's parties, as they are called; for the

custom of reposing, if not of sleeping, after dinner, is so general, that the streets of Calcutta are from 4 to 5 in the afternoon, almost as empty of Europeans as if it were midnight. Next come the evening airings on the Course, where every one goes, though sure of being half suffocated with dust. On returning thence, tea is served, and universally drank here even during the extreme heats. After tea, either cards or music fill up the space till 10, when supper is usually announced. Formal visits are paid in the evening; they are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen calls to make, and a party waiting for her at home besides. Gentlemen also call to offer their respects, and if asked to put down their hats, it is considered as an invitation to supper."

In these times, the day's work is really a day's work; men do not go home to tiffins or early dinners; nor can they afford to indulge in the afternoon *siestas*, which, in former days, were so general. A true bill, we believe, may be found on this latter charge against some ladies and some regimental officers; and during trying hot winds in the upper provinces, the custom of sleeping during the middle of the day still prevails; but the majority of European residents in India have too much to do, to think of sleeping before dinner. From 10 or 11 o'clock to 5 or 6, office men are hard at work. Let none suppose, that they lounge through their business, after an indolent undress fashion—that they loll upon easy couches, hookah in hand, and lazily give instructions to their underlings, whilst they sip their delicious sherbet and puff out the fumes of the odoriferous *chillum*. The life of a man of business in India is anything but a luxurious one. In spite of heat, of languor, of oppression, of all the overpowering influences of the climate, he toils throughout the long day, in a comfortless counting-house, perhaps in a room, the heated atmosphere of which is rendered more intolerable by the presence of a score of only native clerks, and returns home at sunset, jaded and exhausted, to take his evening drive, and afterwards perhaps, to be dragged to a sultry

dinner party. The diners-out, however, form but a segment, though a large one of our society. There are many who delight in the quiet evening at home, and rarely or never cross their threshold, to dinner, ball, play or concert, after returning from their evening drive. The domestic virtues are cultivated as sedulously in India, as in England; and not perhaps, by a smaller proportion of the gross amount of gentility.

The age of damsel-errantry is past. The greater number of young ladies, who embark for India on board our splendid passenger steamers, turn their faces towards the East, because their home is there. Their legitimate protectors reside in India, and they are but returning to the parental roof, from which the circumstances of their position have temporarily banished them. They do not often arrive in the country with very extravagant notions of the splendid establishments in store for them—or, indeed, with any very absorbing thoughts of the great matter of matrimony at all. Once settled here, they differ very little, in character and conduct, from young ladies in Europe of the same rank in life. Every year, indeed, diminishes the breadth of the distinctions, which were once apparent. There is more domesticity in Indian life, than formerly characterised our social relations. Our young ladies are, for the most part, to be seen at home—happy, contented, amiable. They are daughters and sisters; not mere husband-hunting spinsters. They have generally been educated, though perhaps not quite so carefully in some important points, as if their education had been conducted under the maternal eye; and their conversation is, in no respect, inferior to that of young ladies of the same age and rank in the mother country. As regards the happiness of domestic life in India, we not hesitate to express an opinion to the effect, that in no community, with whose social characteristics we are acquainted, is there more married happiness than among the English in the East. Husbands and wives are more dependent on each other in this country than at home. There is no place in the world

where a man stands more in need of the companionship of his wife, particularly in times of sickness.

It may sound strange to people at home, that children in India sit up till a late hour. Few, indeed, retire so early as they do in England; but then there is no necessity. Within doors all day long as they are obliged to remain, there is in reality to them very little difference between day and night, unless in so far as sunlight characterises the one, and lamp-light the other. The intervals of sleeping and waking are tolerably equally distributed over the twenty-four hours, and although children are almost invariably up and astir with the first dawn of day, they perhaps upon the whole sleep during a greater number of hours before sunset than they do from that time till sunrise.

But we are talking of children—Indian children—poor little mortals that they are! Not for them are any of the lightsome joys that consecrate in after years the recollection of that most blest of life's changing scenes, as their more fortunate cousins whose happy lot it is to be born under a western and more temperate clime. The bird's nesting, the "prowling in the burn," the games at romps, the blithesome race through hill and dale; these, and the thousand other pastimes of the children of our own happy land are to those of India as if they had no existence. In their stead, the Indian child is taught by the native servants to pass its time as they themselves do, in listless inactivity. If, perchance, its infantile instincts should at any time lead it away at a pace at all approaching a romp, it is at once pulled back, shaken, and mayhap pinched slyly, but severely, by the mild and gentle looking swarthy being who, to all appearance, is intently solicitous regarding it. To sit monkey-like in the arms of a nurse, playing with rude toys that evidently give as much amusement to the ayah, or the bearer, as to the child itself; to "hum" snatches of Hindostanee songs; to listen to lascivious anecdotes of Hindoo gods; to speak

disrespectfully of their mother; to lie, cheat, and steal—these and many other amusements scarcely less reprehensible, form the early education of a British child left to the tuition of the native servants of India.

A correspondent of the *Calcutta Gazette* sends, in 1789, the following petition:—

"The humble petition of Mr.——

"Your petitioner begs leave most submissively to represent the unaccountable and unjust encroachment of "Esquire." Your petitioner's ancestors were of families highly respected, and in his native country he is now considered on a footing with gentlemen of the first consequence. It is the abuse of this country he complains of.

"When your petitioner was first known in India, though his rank and situation were not adequate to his title and merits, yet being received in the best societies the country afforded, he had no great cause to complain; but now what a sad reverse of fortune, through want of breeding in upstarts, or ignorance of his merits and claims! The first fall your petitioner suffered was among shopkeepers and auctioneers, tailors and printers. But now, will you believe it, he is spurned by blacksmiths and horse-doctors, rough-riders and postillions, when addressed by each other. It was no longer than last week a most serious quarrel was decided between Frizzle, a journeyman hair-dresser, and Snaffle, a menage rough-rider, with the loss of eight ounces of blood from the nose of one party, and the damage of a black eye to the other, which originated in the latter having neglected the title of Esquire in his address to the former, though he dignified him with the epithet of your petitioner.

"This abuse of esquiring all degrees is now carried to such lengths, that your petitioner is almost totally banished from the settlement, and is never heard of except when a master addresses his servant, or a tailor his journeyman; even

the obscurity of the parties, ignorance of their names, or a distrust whether they were ever christianised, does not deprive them of this title, for rather than allow one to escape, or hurt the feelings of a Portuguese cook, he is dubbed with blank Esquire.

"Your petitioner has therefore at length ventured to represent his situation, and begs you will lay his case before the public that he may be restored to his right and station. He will excuse such absurd flattery in debtors to merciless creditors, in dependants to patrons, or servants to their masters, but he hopes and trusts that the real gentlemen of the settlement will in future think it no disgrace to be addressed oy their proper and respectable epithet of plain Mr., and that those who usurp the characters of gentlemen, will not spurn a title which their fathers and their relations at home would even think it ridicule to be honoured with; so strange is the infatuation, that people are not contented with requiring the title of Esquire from others, but have the absurdity to dub themselves such in public addresses. This betrays a weak vanity generally attached to mushroom gentry, and evinces the propriety and truth of the adage, 'that humility is true gentility.'

"It may not be unamusing to trace the origin of this epidemic contagion. Mr. Retail is a *dukandar** in the China Bazar, and addresses the Gunner of the *Ganges*, and solicits the disposal of Wadding, Esquire's adventure. This man of powder, highly pleased with his new Indian dignity, returns the obligation in the same style and offers Retail, Esquire the sale of his adventure. Henceforward each considers himself a perfect Esquire, and would deem it an insult to his dignity to be any longer addressed by the respectable title of a private gentleman, at least during his breathing oriental atmosphere, and mixing with nabobs and upstarts equally dignified. Or Feyzoo, the hair-dresser, desirous of purchasing pomatum from

* Shopkeeper.

the captain's servant, turns dubber, and, ridiculous to tell, is dubbed in return. Where this dubbing will end God knows. This madness had raged to such a height, that I have seen an Indian Esquire take a worthy gentleman by the nose, but be it noted it was in the act of shaving him.

"This Indian Esquireship, like death, levels all distinctions; and supreme councillors and cooks, advocates and auctioneers, horse-doctors and civil servants, judges and shopkeepers, postillions and pilots, crannies and carpenters, butchers and bum bailiffs, upstarts and old soldiers, are all indiscriminately plunged in the vortex, and no soul is left who claims or acknowledges the respectable and gentlemanly title of your injured petitioner."

In 1831, Calcutta was supplied with ice made at Hooghly by the projector of the "Hooghly Ice Preserve." The *Tuscany*, with a cargo of ice from America, arrived in the early part of 1833; it was an epoch in the history of Calcutta, worthy of commemoration. The ice was sold at four annas per seer in Calcutta.

OUT-DOOR EXERCISE.

There were few carriages in Calcutta in the beginning of this century; ladies and even doctors paid visits in palankeens; this notwithstanding that coachmakers had set up in business in the city as far back as 1780. And that they were in the habit of importing carriages, is evident from the advertisements which we find in the earliest numbers of *Hicky's Gazette*. One of their advertisements runs thus:—"Just imported, a very elegant neat coach, with a genteel rutlan roof, ornamented with flowers, very highly finished, ten best polished plate glasses, ornamented with a few elegant medallions enriched with mother-o'pearl."

The *Courier* says:—" Some are to be seen lolling in their buggies and enjoying their evening drive on the beach, puffing

away with the greatest nonchalance imaginable, whilst others on horseback and in palanquins are to be seen amusing themselves in a similar way."

Lord Valentia in 1803, mentions:—"He came up the river in Lord Wellesley's state barge, richly ornamented with green and gold, its head a spread-eagle gilt, its stern a tiger's head and body; the centre would convey twenty people with ease."

Boating parties in olden times were very frequent, between Calcutta and Garden Reach. We find Mrs. Fay writing in 1783 about these boating trips, when "the oars beat time to the note of the clarionet":—"Kittysol boys, in the act of suspending their kittesaus, which were finely ornamented, over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England, with turbans bound by the same colored ribband—the rowers resting on their oars in a similar uniform—made a most picturesque appearance."

Boating, in long handsome boats called snake boats, was much practised, in the evening particularly. Gentlemen kept their pleasure yachts, and were accustomed to go in them to Chandernagore or Sook Saugor on pleasure trips. Stavorinus, in 1770, writes of these snake boats:—"Another boat of this country, which is very curiously constructed, is called a *mourpunkey*; these are very long and narrow, and sometimes extending to upwards of a hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth; they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which is either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal; the paddles are directed by a man who stands up, and sometimes makes use of a branch of plant to regulate their motions, using much gesticulation, and telling history to excite either laughter or exertion. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, on which are seated the owner and

his friends, who partake of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments which are highly varnished and exhibit a considerable degree of taste." The fact is, the only drive at that time was the dusty Course. There was no Strand Road, and no country drives; hence pleasure trips were made by Calcutta people of wealth on "the delightful boats and upon the pleasant waves of the Ganges."

Hog hunting was a favourite sport in bygone days, and there was a club called the Tent club. The members of this society were in the habit of resorting weekly to the jungles, within fifty miles of the city, in pursuit of this sport. Buchra, a ruined silk factory about fifteen miles from Calcutta, was during the last century generally the chosen spot for the meet. This deserted edifice was situated in the midst of an extensive forest; the ground-floor was occupied by the horses of the party; a large room in the upper storey was dedicated to refection; whilst three or four smaller apartments formed the dormitories of those who had come unprovided with tents.

Lady Hood, who was travelling in the upper provinces, on her way from Muttra to Saharunpore, had a hunting excursion at Rohtuck, "which did not prove very successful, as the party only killed one lion, and a tiger." Lady Hood was at Saharunpore on the 28th March, 1814, and proposed to proceed thence to Hurdwar, we suppose in continuation of her hunting expedition; and "if the season would permit, proceed thence to Lahore." People appear not to have felt the heat so much then in their travelling excursions as they do now.

On the 5th of June, 1789, a feat of strength was formed in the vicinity of Calcutta, of which the following are the particulars :—" After dinner two gentlemen laid a wager with a third, that he could not run the distance of a mile without stopping. The next morning was at first settled as the time of trial, but the gentleman with whom the bet was laid, convinced

of his powers, determined to put them to the proof immediately, and the party accordingly sallied forth to the first milestone on the great road to the Course, where the champion, without any previous preparation, started *statuquo*, and with great ease ran, at a quick pace, not only a mile, but near a mile and-a-half, for the second milestone had been by some accident removed, and the site of it not being exactly known, he continued to run almost to the foot of the Kidderpore Bridge."

In *Hicky's Gazette*, of 1780, an advertisement appears of a house to let "at Bread and Cheese Bungalow, opposite the great tree."

The Beef-Steak Club, which had been in existence in Calcutta for years, but had been languishing, was revived in 1827.

A Golf Club was established in Calcutta on the 24th March, 1839, of which Lord Ramsay was captain.

CHAPTER IX.

AMUSEMENTS.

PUBLIC ENTERTAINMENTS.

PUNCH houses and taverns, where entertainments were usual, began to be rather numerous in Lall Bazar as early as 1780, even while the "Harmonic" was in its zenith. Hawksworth mentions,—"I was, en passant, shown a tavern, called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half a crown); which half a crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English newspapers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London; together with the *Calcutta Advertiser*, the *Calcutta Chronicle*, &c., &c., and, for the honor of Calcutta, be it recorded, that the two last named publications are, what the English prints formerly were, moral, amusing and intelligent." The chief strangers that came to Calcutta and visited the hotels, were the captains of the Indiamen, great personages in their day.

"Vauxhall and Fireworks, at Cossinaut Baboo's Garden House, in the Durrumtollah;" so runs the heading of an advertisement by Mr. Gairard, on the 4th December, 1788—"Mr. Gairard does himself the pleasure to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of Calcutta, that his Vauxhall Exhibition of Fireworks will commence this day, Thursday, the 4th instant, by a grand display entitled 'The Garden of Pleasure.' The detached pieces that precede the grand display are of a new invention, and very curious. The first of which will exhibit The Compliments. The Garden is laid out in very great order,

with the additional advantage of new walks, all covered in, to protect the company from the vapours of the evening, and when illuminated, will afford a very pleasing *coup d'œil*. The fireworks will commence at eight o'clock precisely. Mr. Gairard has likewise fitted up several large boxes for the reception of families who may wish to be accommodated by themselves, at 60 sicca rupees each, with refreshments included."

"The celebration of His Majesty's recovery from his late unfortunate malady took place on the 28th July, 1789, and no means within the power of the inhabitants of this settlement were withheld to demonstrate their joy on the occasion"—so wrote the editor of the *Gazette*. Royal salutes, and *feux de joie* were fired, and in the evening the town of Calcutta and suburbs were illuminated, and the whole concluded with a concert and supper given by the Right Honorable the Governor General. We give the *Gazette's* description of the illuminations :—"The Old Court House, the Government House, the monument,* the great tank, and the two principal streets leading north and south to the Esplanade, were adorned by Mr. Gairard, well known for his skill in this mode of embellishment; and though the causes mentioned (a heavy fall of rain and repeated showers afterwards) prevented, in a great degree, the general effect that would have attended his plans had the weather been favorable, many parts of them, the Old Court House and the Government House in particular, afforded an admirable display of beauty and magnificence. Besides these the illuminations of individuals were abundant, and would, had not the weather proved unfavorable, have exhibited a most extensive, if not universal, blaze of splendour over the European part of the town. "God save the King"—"Long live the King"—"Vive le Roi"—"Vivant Rex et Regina"—and other loyal mottos shone in all quarters, and the following in the house of the Accountant General

* This apparently refers to the old Holwell Monument, and not of course to the Ochterlony Column which was not then in existence.

demanded particular attention—"The King trusteth in the Lord and in the Mercy of the most High, he shall not be moved"—"He asked life of Thee and Thou gavest him it"—"Thou knowest that the Lord saveth His anointed."

"[ADVERTISEMENT.] Mr. Stuart has desired it to be signified (through the channel of this paper) to the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, that the Old Court House appearing, on a survey, not to be in a condition to admit of the safe accommodation of the usual company, he is obliged to deny himself the pleasure of meeting them at the customary periods of the approaching season, *November 22nd*, 1791." In the following year (1792), we find this gentleman had his parties at the Theatre. He requests the favor of their company (the gentlemen in the Honorable Company's Civil and Military Services) to a concert and supper, on the 23rd April, "to celebrate the national success in the late war and the happy restoration of peace."

On the celebration of His Majesty's birthday, a ball and supper were given at the Theatre on the 6th December, 1792, when the ball was opened by Lady Jones, wife of Sir William Jones, the eminent orientalist. We note this incident only to allude to a reminiscence, given by the editor of the "Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes," lately published. "The late Mr. Blacquiere, magistrate of the town of Calcutta, and interpreter in the late Supreme Court, who died in 1852, at the age of 90 and upwards, used to talk of having danced a minute with Lady Jones, as a young man."

Nautches used to be given at the different Hindoo houses at the Doorga Poojas. The most popular of the Hindoo gentlemen was "Sookmoy Roy," at whose house "two large swing punkhas were kept constantly in motion, to keep the room cool. Here (in 1792) a novelty was introduced in the Pooja ceremonies, namely, a combination of English airs with the Hindostanee songs." This innovation seems not to have

succeeded, "owing to the indifferent skill of the musicians." One writer noticing the subject says, "but the favourite simple air of *Malbrook* was played so as to be immediately distinguishable." "The majority of company crowded to Raja Nobkissen's, where several mimics attempted to imitate the manners of different nations."

Those were times (1792) when the expenditure of money was thought little of, a gold mohur passing almost as a rupee in value. We see an advertisement of tickets for a ball at Mrs. Le Gallais' rooms for sale at one gold mohur each. On the occasion of a subscription being got up for the building of the Edinburgh University, Lord Cornwallis gave 3,000 sicca rupees, Honorable C. Stuart, 2,000 sicca rupees, and so on—one small list, showing a total of subscriptions of over 30,000 rupees.

On the 6th Febuary, 1792, was achieved the great victory to the British arms at Seringapatam, and on the anniversary of that day (1793) a superb entertainment was given at the Calcutta Theatre, by the principal gentlemen of the Civil Establishment to Lord Cornwallis and a numerous company. Here is a description of the gorgeous illumination on that occasion :—"The whole front of the Theatre was completely illuminated, by which means, independent of the grand effect of the profusion of lamps, any embarrassment in arriving at the doors was entirely prevented, though the crowd of spectators, palanquins, &c., was of course immense ; and facing the front was a very large transparent painting by Mr. Devis, from a drawing by Lieutenant Conyngham, of the 76th, exhibiting the storm of Bangalore by the British troops on the night of the 21st March, 1791. At the western entrance of the room, the boxes and gallery were overhung with splendid canopies of silk in the form of tents, between which were erected a variety of banners, helmets, and military trophies ; amongst which one in the centre bore the coronet of the Earl, and at different spaces the Company's crest was fixed on sable escutcheons. The eastern

end of the great room was also decorated with martial ornaments, and over the centre of them appeared a brilliant star. The banners represented the colors of every regiment that was at the siege, and beneath them were reversed the flags of Tippoo Sultan. There were also two large banners, charged, the one with the royal arms, and the other with the arms of the Company. In front of the eastern door of the house was a grand transparent view of Seringapatam, by Messrs. Devis and Solwyns, from a drawing of Lieutenant Colebrooke. Over the windows were light transparent views of the principal forts taken from the enemy, Ossore, Ryacotta, Nanadroog, Severndroog, Oottradroog, Ramgery, and Shivagery, painted by Mr. Solwyns, from drawings of Lieutenant Colebrooke. The ceiling was beautifully decorated with flowers, laurels, and foil, which also were profusely twined around the pillars. A number of most elegant lustres were suspended from the roof, and the walls were ornamented with splendid mirrors. The benches were covered with crimson silk, and gold and silver fringes. At 11 o'clock the ball commenced with a figure dance very elegantly performed by the following ladies: Mrs. Haldane, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Hewett, Mrs. Barlow, Mrs. Peter Murray, Mrs. Collins, Miss Mackintosh and Miss Frail. Each lady was dressed in a uniform of white satin, with gold fringe, and a bandeau with the words "6th of February" inscribed on it. Lord Cornwallis was present, as was His Highness the Nawab Saadut Aly, and his son, together with several foreigners of distinction; the company was extremely numerous, and appeared to feel the highest satisfaction on the occasion."

A few days after (27th March 1793) the senior *military* officers gave a ball and supper at the Theatre in commemoration of the peace of Seringapatam. The decorations of the rooms were so different from those on the occasion alluded to above, that we cannot pass them over without some notice:—"The appearance of the Theatre, on entering it, was at once

magnificent and chaste, splendid, yet not glaring. The eye, after contemplating the double range of pillars which were decorated with white foil, and entwined with spiral wreaths of roses, was struck with a representation of the temple of Janus placed in the recess, which terminated the view, and excited the attention by this appropriate inscription—"*Cludor, ne temere Paream!*" On each side of the vestibule in the approach to the temple were placed in basso-relievo the busts of Augustus and of Trajan; above that of the former emperor was represented the restoration of the Roman standards and eagles, which had been seized from Crassus; above the bust of Trajan, the Dacian chief was represented imploring the clemency of his imperial conqueror. The floor of the vestibule was painted in imitation of variegated marble. At the east end of the great room, were the whole length figures of Justice and Fortitude; at the west, of Peace and Plenty. Over the entrance of the room a music gallery was erected, in front of which, on a medallion, in attitudes at once beautiful and correct, were painted the Graces, and on each side of them, in different compartments, the emblematic figures of Music and the Dances." We need not describe the entertainment as it was very similar to the other noted above.

On the King's birthday, 3rd December 1793, "a party of gentlemen dined with Sir John Shore at the Government House, among whom were the Governor of Chinsurah, Chief of Serampore, &c. In the evening the ball and supper at the Theatre were very numerously attended; the ball was opened by Mrs. Chapman and Sir George Leith, and the minuets continued till near 12 o'clock, when the company retired to a very elegant supper. After supper country-dances commenced, and were continued with great spirit till 4 o'clock in the morning," and it is added—"We observed with much pleasure for the first time several Armenian ladies and gentlemen joining in the dance." It seems strange to us that the dance

should have been given in the Theatre while the dinner was given at Government House.

At the St. Andrew's Dinner, which was held at the Theatre in 1794, and whereat a very numerous party were gathered, the usual loyal and other toasts were drunk, and then followed these two unique toasts—"May the British constitution pervade the earth and trample anarchy under foot," and "May the British empire in all its parts ever exhibit the same harmony and unanimity that animate the present company." The *Mirror* had no need to tell us, that at this time "the bottle had a rapid circulation."

A grand musical entertainment was given in the *New Church* on the 27th of February 1797, for the benefit of the Free School Society, when a selection from the works of Handel was given, and a thousand tickets were sold, which essentially benefited the charity. The performance commenced at a little after 7 and ended a little before 11 o'clock.

"New Public Rooms, Tank Square," seem to have been opened in the autumn of 1798, and the first assembly of the public for dances, &c., took place on the 13th November, 1798.

"The commemoration of the glorious and memorable battle of Assaye was celebrated on *Sunday*, the 23rd September, 1804, at the Government House, where a grand dinner was given to the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, the members of Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, Major-General Wellesley, the Envoy from Bagdad, and to all the principal civil and military officers and British inhabitants of Calcutta. The toasts of :—Major-General Wellesley; the Army of the Deccan and the memory of the battle of Assaye; with our illustrious Commander-in-Chief, and the Army in Hindustan, were drank with enthusiasm. The bands of the Governor General and of His Majesty's 22nd Regiment played martial airs during the entertainment; and at sunset, a royal salute was fired from the ramparts of Fort William, in honor of the battle of Assaye.

The Governor General and Major-General Wellesley attended livine service in the morning of the 23rd at the Old Church, vhen a sermon suitable to the occasion was preached by the Reverend Mr. Brown." We have italicised a portion of this nformation, showing how our rulers were accustomed to :ombine the outward forms of religion with conviviality. No vonder if such desecration of the Sabbath was practised in high laces, that there was little of the vitality of religion among the general public.

On the 1st March, 1805, a grand dinner was given at the Pantheon, Madras, by the officers of His Majesty's and the Hon'ble Company's services at the Presidency, to Major-General the Hon'ble Sir Arthur Wellesley, K. B., on his approaching departure from India. Several loyal toasts were drank on the occasion. We need not give a description of the entertainment, as we have noted one or two specimens of the manner in which these affairs were got up in those days. We notice this only to introduce an original song, which was sung by a gentleman whose name is not given, in honor of the departing General, and which was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The song was as follows:—

"Begin the song of triumph, resound the martial strain,
To Britain's shores returning, brave Wellesley quits the plain.
Where Victory exulting her conquering flag still rears,
That led to glory or to death her British grenadiers.
Our enemies reviving, rejoice in his return,
But soon shall fade the flattering hopes that in their bosoms burn.
For from his great example, fresh heroes still shall rise,
Nor e'er the sun of conquest set in beclouded skies.
We mourn the gallant soldier that for his country bleeds,
But to the painful sacrifice, a lasting calm succeeds;
And tho' the transient storm of war obscure the rising day,
The star of peace shall brighter shine that gilds its evening ray,
Through Wellesley, though retiring from yon ensanguined field,
Where Mars thy might extending, made Scindia's legions yield,
Yet shall a livelier joy be thine, when with protecting care,
Plenty and liberty have spread their mingled blessings there.

Then sing the song of triumph, once more the martial strain,
To Britain's shores returning, brave Wellesley quits the plain.
A little time the conqueror for all his toil repays.
It gives him all a soldier asks, his king's and country's praise."

On the 11th September 1807, being the anniversary of the battle of Delhi, a splendid entertainment was given in "the new Theatre at Barrackpore," at which were present the Right Hon'ble Lord Minto, the Governor General, General St. Leger and Staff, the whole of the officers and ladies at the station, and a numerous party of visitors from Calcutta. We note this assemblage only to remark on the strange airs played by the band on certain of the toasts of the evening:—"The Queen and Royal Family" was followed by the air—*Merrily danced the Quaker's wife*; "The Hon'ble East India Company," by *Money in both pockets*, and "Lord Wellesley," by *St. Patrick's day in the morning.*

Punkhas though they had come into fashion, appear not to have been in *general* use in Calcutta up to the present time, for, in an advertisement by Mr. Lathrop, who announces a series of lectures on Mechanics at Moor's Rooms, that gentleman "having been informed that some ladies and gentlemen have declined to subscribe to his lectures, on account of the warmth of the season, begs leave to assure them that the rooms are rendered cool and comfortable by means of punkhas, and that those who attended the introductory lecture, declared that they suffered no inconvenience from the heat of the weather, or the state of the air in the spacious and airy hall in which they were assembled." This was in May 1808.

The following extraordinary scene occurred at a entertainment given by Sir Charles Metcalfe on the 21st December, 1827, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General and the Countess Amherst. "The company amounted to about 400 persons, comprising all the rank, beauty and fashion of Calcutta. In the course of the evening, a group of visitors made their appearance in the proper costume of the principal characters in Shakespeare's

plays, led on by *Prospero*, and the rear brought up by *Dogberry*. On reaching the gorgeous pavilion where the Governor-General and his party were seated, *Prospero* delivered an appropriate address. The several personages in the group then mixed in the dance, exhibiting sundry amusing anachronisms. *Falstaff* led out a fashionable beauty of the *anciene regime*. The Ghost of *Hamlet* too might be observed holding converse with *Titania*, until scared a little by the sudden appearance of *Bottom*, who just brayed his approbation on the scene and then vanished. *Shylock* also, for a moment, forgot his bond and spoke to some lady whom he recognised; while *Henry VIII* addressed *Lady Percy*, and *Anna Boleyn* replied to some remark of *Dr. Caius*, who did not at all appear surprised to see *Oberon* treading on the toes of the vernacular *Dogberry*, or the haughty *Wolsey* holding a long confab with a jolly carter."

DANCING.

Notice is given for a series of "assemblies" to be held at the "Harmonic House," once a week in November, 1784. This seems to have been the commencement of *public* gaieties in Calcutta. On the appearance of this announcement, the proprietors of the "London Tavern" advertise a series of similar "assemblies" at their house:—"They flatter themselves with the hopes of some encouragement and support from a generous public, when they solemnly declare that they did not know that the Harmonic House would be again opened as a tavern, when they contracted with a builder, about two months ago to erect a large and commodious Assembly Room, 96 feet long and 36 feet wide, and which the builder has engaged to finish by the 14th November next. In case the room shall not appear to be sufficiently dry, they humbly hope the subscribers will be contented with their present rooms, one of which is 68 feet by 22, for a short time." "They have contracted with a person to supply them with oysters;" from which it would appear that ovsters formed a regular and favourite refreshment

with visitors to such places of amusement. At the Harmonic it is notified—" No hookahs to be admitted upstairs."

The following strange and curious rules for the first of a series of subscription dances at the Calcutta Theatre (1792) will amuse our readers :—" (1) That minuets be danced on the nights of dress assemblies only. (2) That ladies be taken out to dance minuets according to the rank their husbands hold in the King's or Hon'ble Company's service. (3) That ladies whose husbands are not in the King's or Hon'ble Company's service, be taken out to dance minuets in the order they come into the room, and that this regulation hold good with regard to unmarried ladies. (In preservation of this rule, ladies are to receive tickets as they enter the room.) (4) That all ladies draw lots for places in country dances. (5) That any lady allowing the first couple to pass the place corresponding with the number of her ticket shall stand the last couple for that dance. (6) That ladies having gone down a country dance shall stand up for all the couples who are to follow, or not dance any more that night. (7) That hookers be not admitted to the ball room during any part of the night. (But hookers might be admitted to the supper rooms, to the card rooms, to the boxes in the theatre, and to each side of the assembly room, between the large pillars and the walls.)"

A ball in India is a different affair from the same scene in England. " In the first place, the company includes no old ladies—at least, of the softer sex; for doubtless there are the usual proportion in breeches. The absence of elderly persons in Indian society, is one of the first things that strike a new arrival. At a certain age, people usually leave the country, and thus there is always a degree of youthfulness about the company one meets. But, strange to say, young unmarried ladies are as scarce as old ones, and naturally more in demand : consequently, a lady's dancing days last as long as she remains in India, and a man has the satisfaction of seeing the mother

of his six children as much in request, even among young sparks, as before he married her, while any damsel not yet wedded has as many partners on hand as she could accommodate in a week. Hence the light fantastic toe has enough to do, and has to keep up the steam to the end of the chapter. Fortunately the ball rooms are expressly adapted for such efforts, being lofty, spacious, and airy, windows open on every side, and ventilation facilitated by a hundred-punkah power. A white cloth, coated with French chalk, covers the floor and affords a smooth surface for the feet. Among the male portion of the company there is a great predominance of uniforms, while the toilettes of the ladies are of the most expensive kind, and, there being no lack of lights, the whole forms a brilliant scene."

One of the prizes held out to a young lady on reaching India, as open to all comers, was "three hundred a year, dead or alive," which passed into a proverb and was stamped on the damsel's brow as plain as print. The meaning was that by marrying a member of the Civil Service, she secured a husband with at least £300 a year, and at his death, would be entitled to a pension from the Civil Fund to the same amount. The latter provision, however, was contingent on the husband having served a certain period; and, on one occasion, this fact was communicated to a lady at a grand dinner just after her marriage, when she could not conceal her disappointment, but called across the table to her husband—"John, John, it's a *do* after all: it is a do."

In 1793, we find that ladies were accustomed to dance from 9 in the evening till 5 o'clock in the morning—and at the beginning of the present century, the ladies, according to Lord Valentia, were in the habit not unfrequently of dancing themselves into the grave. "Consumptions," he writes, "are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute, in a great measure, to their incessant dancing even during the hottest

weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandas and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere."

"ADVERTISEMENT.—Mr. Macdonald presents his respects to the ladies and gentlemen amateurs of dancing, and informs them that he will instruct any lady or gentleman, who are in the habit of dancing, in the fashionable Scotch step, and its application to country dancing, for sicca rupees 100. Besides the fashionable step, the athletic and agile, may be taught a variety of Scotch steps, equally elegant, but more difficult in the execution, for an additional charge" (1795.)

"ADVERTISEMENT.—Subscription Concert. As Mr. Oehme finds the rules concerning his concerts are not generally understood in the settlement, he takes this method to prevent any further mistake. Seven ladies, scholars of Mr. Oehme, have each a separate list; and upon one or the other of those lists the name of every subscriber is entered. The subscription is 80 sicca rupees; and the ladies of the families of subscribers are invited by tickets, with their names upon them; but neither these nor subscribers' tickets are transferable. Any lady may, by entering her name in one of the lists, become a subscriber for any number of visiting tickets, at 100 sicca rupees each; and such visiting tickets, having the subscribing lady's name on them, become transferable either to a lady or a gentleman."

"The General Management of the Bengal Military Orphan Society," says an advertisement in the *Gazette* of the 1st November, 1810, "having found occasion to form some arrangements for the better regulation of the monthly dance given by the society to the daughters of officers at the Kidderpore school, notice is hereby given that no person whomsoever will, in future, be admitted to this entertainment without producing a printed card of invitation." Then follows an intimation of the parties admissible and where cards could be obtained. These entertainments were held twice a month,

and were the means by which many of the young people were enabled to get married to members of both services.

DIGNITY BALL IN 1829.

Occasionally a Calcutta paper contains an advertisement to the effect that Mr. Higgs, or Mrs. Ramsbottom, or some such worthy, will give a grand masked ball at his or her house in Cossitollah, or any other less respectable quarter;—"tickets of admission, three rupees each—masks, dominos, and fancy dresses to be procured on the premises." Here is a description of one of these balls, taken from the *United Service Journal*:—

"An inquisitive stranger may perhaps feel an inclination to gratify his curiousity as to the style of entertainment, and the calibre of the guests who honor it with their presence. In such case he might, at nine or ten o'clock in the evening, induct himself into a palankeen, and hie him to the scene of action; and, if a prudent man, he will not fail to have brought as his companion a small switch, not much more than half as thick as his wrist. On obtaining admittance he will glide into an anteroom, where an accommodating attendant will, for a consideration of two rupees, purvey unto him a mask and domino.

"Ascending to the ball-room, he will find it lighted by a profusion of tallow candles in lustres and girandoles, and furnished with green baize benches, and a varied assortment of chairs, probably purchased separately, at as many auctions (or *outcries*, to use the Anglo-Indian term) as there may be chairs in the room. The music will consist of two violins, a tambourine, and if you are in luck, a triangle will be added thereto. The performers, like all wandering minstrels, will, to a certainty, be deaf, blind, or lame.

"I have spoken of the lighting, furniture, and music; it now only remains to notice the company; and a goodly one

it is. The majority consists of half-caste clerks, and the lowest *uncovenanted* servants of the Honorable Company, fancy men, and other ornaments of the Calcutta punch-houses, with a liberal contribution of mates and apprentices from the merchant ships in port. Curiosity has perhaps attracted in disguise a stray writer, or youthful tyro in the civil service, and probably an adventurous ensign, or hair-brained cadet from the South Barracks, all well satisfied that they are clothed in an impenetrable incognito. Of the females who enliven this select coterie, I must in justice say, that they are exactly in the sphere which they are alone calculated to grace and adorn. The fun now grows fast and furious; quadrille and boisterous country-dance (here unexploded) succeed each other with exhausting rapidity. In these happy regions flirtations are briskly carried on, unfettered by the argus eyes of cautious mammas or veteran chaperons; the only *contretemps* arising from the mischievousness and impudence of some aspiring son of Mars, who pertinaciously provokes the *black* looks and angry mutterings of an enamoured quill-driver.

"At length appears the host, a red-faced individual, with lank hair, and a corpulent person, who might be mistaken indiscriminately for a retired prize-fighter, or a *ci-devant* proprietor of a disreputable ham and beef shop. This prepossessing specimen of the genus homo perpetrates his best bow, and informs the "ladies and gen'lm'n" that supper is ready. Hereupon ensues a scramble towards that apartment, where entertainment hath been amply provided for the *convives*. Seats being taken, and order in some degree restored, there is a call by some presiding plebeian, a would-be *arbiter elegantiarum*, for the "gentlemen to be pleased to remove their masks"—a measure intended, I suppose, as a sort of test of the respectability of the company. This condition, however, is resisted by some scrupulous sprig of Calcutta aristocracy, who shudders at the possibility of recognition, whereupon every symptom of a row presents itself until the voracity of the

proposer and his canaille supporters induces them to yield the point, rather than see the supper devoured before their eyes by that wiser section of the guests who have taken no part in the dispute, prompted by a judicious resolution to employ their teeth rather than their tongue.

"Now the work of demolition proceeds in good earnest. An interesting-looking animal in a blue jacket bedizened with tawdry lace, who chances to be your *vis-a-vis* at table, begs that he may "ave the honour of elping you to a little am," coaxing you to compliance by an assurance that it shall be cut 'wery thin.' Meantime the fair object of his attentions, seated at his side, is discussing with silent rapidity a plateful of cold tongue, with the unusual adjunct of blancmange, a novel mixture, which she has either approved by experience, or, more probably, is induced to adopt from an apprehension of having no time to attack each separately: laboriously plying her knife and fork, her eyes are greedily scanning the dainties set before her, whilst her corkscrew ringlets wanton alternately on her neighbour's plate, or in the frothy head of a tumbler of Hodgson's pale ale which flanks her."

THEATRICALS.

The first* building that was devoted to theatricals was situated behind the present Writers' Buildings in Dalhousie Square.

Subscription theatrical performances were started in October of the year 1795. Six performances were to be given in the "season;" a subscriber paying 120 sicca rupees was entitled to a "ticket for the season for himself and every lady of his family"—single tickets were 64 rupees each. The first subscription play took place on the 30th October, when was represented the farce of "Trick upon Trick, or the Vintner in

* This was actually the *second*, or "Calcutta Theatre," the first playhouse having been situated at the south-west corner of Lal Bazar Street. (See article in the *Statesman* of October 22, 1905.)

the Suds," with the musical entertainment of "the Poor Soldier."

Theatrical talent must have been at a very low ebb indeed, when such a bill of fare as the following was the best that could be given in the way of amusement at the Calcutta Theatre:— "On Wednesday next, the 13th May, 1795, will be performed the farce of Neck or Nothing; and the musical Entertainment of The Waterman; with a view of Westminster Bridge, and a representation of the Rowing match. Pit and box, sixteen rupees; upper boxes, twelve rupees; gallery, eight rupees."

Here is another performance to which our ancestors crowded to see represented on the Calcutta stage in 1795:— "The Farce of Barnaby Brittle, with a new musical entertainment called Rule Britannia."

The old theatre was used for performances until 1808, when the house and adjoining buildings were purchased by a member of the Tagore family, Gopeymohun Tagore, who added to the buildings and formed the whole of the premises into a bazar, which he called the New China Bazar—by which name it is still known.

There existed in 1795 another theatre in Doomtullah, a lane leading out of the Old China Bazar, and near to the other theatre. The manager of the Doomtullah, in that year, announced an unique performance:—"By permission of the Honorable the Governor General, Mr. Lebedeff's New Theatre in the Doomtullah, decorated in the Bengalee style, will be opened very shortly, with a play called The Disguise; the characters to be supported by performers of both sexes. To commence with vocal and instrumental music called The Indian Serenade: To those musical instruments, which are held in esteem by the Bengalees, will be added European. The words of the much admired Poet 'Shree Bharut Chundro Roy' are set to music. Between the acts some amusing *curiosities* will be introduced."

There were in 1798 two theatres in Calcutta, one called the "Calcutta Theatre," and the other the "Wheler Place Theatre." The performances at both seem to have been of a mediocre description, if we may judge from the weekly advertisements which appear in the papers. For instance, the "Calcutta" advertises—"The Vintner in the Suds," and "The Prize," as the pieces to be performed on the 9th January; and the "Wheler Place" opposition shop announces—"The Irishman in London," and the musical entertainment of "The Agreeable Surprize," for performance on the 22nd of the same month.

The Chowringhee Theatre, which succeeded the old Theatre near the Writers' Buildings, was built in 1814,* on the Chowringhee Road, at the corner of the road that thenceforth received the name of Theatre Street. The cost of erection was defrayed by a number of gentlemen taking shares, the Governor-General making a liberal donation to assist the object. This continued in full operation till 1839 or 1840, when it was burned down.

A theatre was opened at No. 18, Circular Road on the 30th March, 1812, under the name of "The Athenæum," the performances that evening being the tragedy of the "Earl of Essex" and the farce of "Raising the Wind." Price of tickets, one gold mohur each.

A Chowringhee Dramatic Society was formed in 1814, and its first annual meeting [was] held at Calcutta on the 6th July, 1815.

A theatrical performance was got up at Kidderpore on the 28th August, 1815, when the farce of "the Lying Valet" was performed.

Chandernagore also boasted of a threatre where many of the Calcutta residents used to resort. We have not been able to ascertain when it was built. It must have been before 1808,

* Opened, Nov. 25, 1813; burnt down, May 31, 1839.

for in that year we find the following ludicrous incident which occurred there on the 4th April 1808 :—

" After the representation of the farce of *L'Afocat Patelin*, in which a French village judge sits on the trial of a shepherd, accused by his master of having killed several sheep of a capital breed, with the wool of which he, the master, used to have his superfine *English* cloth made—the audience had withdrawn, when something valuable about the theatre was discovered to be missing. The suspicion of having stolen it fell upon a native workman that had been seen lurking behind the scenes. He was seized by one of the managers, and carried to the theatre before the judge who had not yet unrobed, and who immediately resumed his seat. An interpreter was sworn ; and the prisoner, surrounded by bailiffs in their proper dresses, was with the utmost gravity questioned on the circumstances of the fact alleged against him. The novelty of the appearance had such an effect on the black offender, that he fell prostrate at the feet of the judge, confessed the theft, and pointed out the place where he had concealed it, and where it was actually found. After a severe reprimand, he was released on his solemn promise to be honest in future, a promise which from his fears he is likely to keep at least within the precincts of the theatre."

The Dum-Dum Theatre was commenced before 1817. The first actor that gave it a prominence, and brought it before the public, was a bombardier of the name of Charles Franckling, of the 2nd Battery of Artillery. He was a son of a chemist and druggist of the city of Bath, who early turned his attention to Thespian fame ; and when only 16 years of age, joined himself to a party of strolling players, then in the vicinity of Bath, with whom he continued for eighteen months, when finding his expectation of wealth vanish, he enlisted in the Company's service and arrived in Bengal in 1817. Being stationed at Dum-Dum, he at once joined the Thespian band of the Dum-Dum Theatre, and by his versatile talents, which were ably seconded

by his officers and others, he was soon enabled to raise the character of the performances to the highest standard. On the 25th August, 1824, Mr. Franckling passed away from this world.

In 1824* the Calcutta Theatre seems to have been closed, as the fact is referred to in an obituary notice of Mrs. Gottlieb, who had been an actress on the Chowringhee boards during the previous two years.

The Dum-Dum Theatre is announced as about to be reopened in November 1826, after considerable alterations and improvements. This institution was long a place of attraction for lovers of the drama, and in later times Mrs. Leach graced its boards.

We see an advertisement on the 14th May, 1827, of the "Theatre Boitaconnah," announcing that the performance of "The Young Widow, or a Lesson for Lovers," and the farce of "My Landlady's Gown," was to take place on the 24th for the benefit of Mrs. Bland. The hour for the commencement of the performance was *half past seven,* which would be considered an inconveniently early hour in these times.

A faint description of the theatre that existed in 1840, (this could not have been the *Calcutta* † Theatre) may be gathered from the following in one of the Hon. Miss Eden's "Letters from India:"—"We went last night to the play, which we had bespoken. No punkahs and a long low room with few windows; it is impossible to say what the heat was, but the acting was really excellent; I never saw better. We stayed only for one farce—"Naval Engagements"—and notwithstanding the heat laughed all the time. There is a nephew of Joseph Hume's, a lawyer, who acts very well, and Stocqueler, the editor of one of the papers, is quite as good as Farren."

* As a matter of fact it appears to have been closed before the Chowringhee Theatre was opened.

† This was Mrs. Esther Leach's temporary theatre in Old Court House Street which was used while the "Sans Souci" Theatre in Park Street was being erected.

In the Mofussil theatricals were usually got up by the officers and men of the regiments quartered at the various stations, as is the case up to the present day. Of the state of the drama at one of these stations, Cawnpore, which was considered a first rate military cantonment, we find the following notice in the beginning of 1825:—

"The corps dramatique was composed of men of the— Dragoons, some of whom were by no means devoid of ability; but the most strenuous exertions of the more able amongst them could not counterbalance the shock which the feelings received in contemplating the awkward giants with splay feet, gruff voices, and black beards, copiously powdered with flour, who were wont to personate ladies and Leonoras. Here nothing was left for the imagination to work upon—the abominable reality forced itself most cruelly upon the most indulgent of critics and the least fastidious of spectators. But a new theatrical era was dawning at Cawnpore. A public-spirited individual, by the irresistible argument of an excellent *tiffin*, convinced a dozen admirers of the histrionic art of the propriety of meeting at his house to cast an amateur play. Everything now went on swimmingly. Play succeeded play. The amateurs formed themselves into a club denominated the "Strollers," and numerous were the merry reunions after rehearsals, and at the club dinners which were held once a month. The surviving members may perhaps occasionally look back to the cold season of 1825-26 at Cawnpore, and dwell with satisfaction upon the recollection of the mirth and good fellowship which distinguished the meetings of the "Strollers" in the ante-room of the assembly house, where a temporary stage was erected, after the destruction by fire of the old building."

RACING.

Racing was always popular in old Calcutta. There existed a race course at the end of Garden Reach, on what was afterwards the Akra farm. There was another course, however, on the maidaun. The present race course was laid out in 1819.

We do not know the precise date at which the first regular race-meeting came off at Calcutta, or at the other presidencies. Mr. Stocqueler in his *Handbook* says—"The first record of the existence of racing in Calcutta, may be dated from the origin of the Bengal Jockey Club, in 1803"—but we find in the volume of *Hicky's Gazette* for 1780 accounts both of races and of race balls.

The following notice of the Calcutta races appears in a paper of the 2nd January, 1794, in an advertisement:—"The stewards present their compliments to the subscribers to the races, and take this opportunity to inform them, that a breakfast, with music, &c. will be provided in tents, on the course after the races, on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, the 16th, 17th and 18th January, and a ball and supper at the Theatre on Wednesday, the 18th, where they hope for the honor of their company," &c. The races run for were (1) for the Plate; (2) the Hunters' Plate; (3) the Lady's Plate. The running was by ponies generally, and only two ponies appear to have run in each race. At the close of each day's running, or as it is stated "after the *race* each morning," from which it would appear there was only one race each day, a public breakfast was given in the tents, where a company of upwards of a hundred and fifty sat down. "After breakfast, the company adjourned to an adjoining tent of very capacious demensions, handsomely fitted up, and boarded for the purpose of dancing. Country dances commenced in two sets, and were kept up with the utmost gaiety till *two in the afternoon*." How different to present usages.

We have no information as to the length of the Calcutta race course in those days, but if it was the same as at present, the running must have been very severe, judging from the programme of the races for 1795:—

First day, November 25.—A plate of 50 gold mohurs, free for all horses, mares, &c., the best of three heats, twice round to a heat, carrying 9st. 7lbs. each.

Second day, November 26.—A plate of 50 gold mohurs, free for all horses, mares, &c., that never won plate or sweepstakes, the best of three heats, twice round to a heat, carrying 9st. 7lbs. each.

Third day, November 27.—Similar to the above, but weight, 12 stone.

Same day.—A plate of 50 gold mohurs, free for all ponies, 12½ hands high, that never won plate or sweepstakes, the best of three heats, twice round to a heat, carrying 9 stone each.

After this, racing began to be more generally indulged in. At Calcutta instead of two or three races altogether being run, at the winter meeting, we find in 1797 two or three run, on each day for three days. At Benares too, a very strong race-meeting was got up, and races were run almost daily from the 9th of December to Christmas day, one race on each occasion.

A few years later they appear to have fallen into desuetude in Calcutta, though carried on with great zest at Madras. How soon the custom was revived we do not know: but we find Lord Valentia stating early in the present century, that, "on Lord Wellesley's arrival in the country, he set his face decidedly against horse racing and every other species of gambling; yet at the end of November 1809, there were three days' races at a small distance from Calcutta." Lord Wellesley's influence, however, threw a damper on racing for many years.

After a lull the Calcutta Races again commenced under the patronage of Lord Moira. The first day's racing was held on the 4th March, 1816, when there were two races. On the second day there were also two races only. On the 25th March there were two more races. They were run in the morning after the fogs had dispersed; and as this takes place at a rather late hour, it must have been hot work for both the spectators and horses.

In India the necessity of avoiding exposure to the midday sun requires that the races take place early in the morning,

commencing generally before sunrise. Those who in India are in the habit (and who is not?) of witnessing that most exciting of all public amusements, are soon initiated into the sudden and disagreeable alternation from cold to heat which occurs on these occasions. "On arriving at the race-stand, where the floor is covered with straw and a carpet, you may incase yourself in upper Benjamins and cloaks innumerable, and still fail to guard against the bitter cold of the morning; but in three or four short hours, when the sport has terminated, the heat, glare and dust become almost insufferable, and you hasten home to divest yourself of all but an under-garment."

In 1818 the races began to be run in the evening instead of the morning, as had been the practice hitherto. There were races also regularly held at Barrackpore. They commenced as early as 1816.

The Cawnpore race-meeting of February 1825, was the most remarkable in its annals. It continued for alternate days during three weeks. Some of the most noted Arabs on the Indian turf here measured their powers. The race funds were ample, and held out such inducements that crack horses were allured from distances which would put to shame the most travelled of English racers. Nor was there any lack of hack races on each day of the meeting, which were chiefly concocted at the ordinaries held on the night preceding each day's running.

BOAT RACES.

We have a notice of the first boat races in Calcutta, which took place on the 25th July 1813. Seven sailing boats ran on this occasion. The novel exhibition afforded considerable amusement to the spectators.

Sailing matches having been inaugurated in Calcutta, the sport began to be duly appreciated. Other matches came off on the 4th June, 1814, and on this occasion, there were several rowing matches. In these, boats of various descriptions

competed—boliahs, dingies, gigs, &c. some propelled by oars, and others by paddles.

The races fell into desuetude till about 1836, when they were revived, but they have never held a high place among the sporting community of Calcutta, owing to the crowded state of the river.

CRICKET.

On the 18th and 19th January, 1804, was played a grand match of cricket between the Etonians, Civil servants of the Company, and all other servants of the Company resident in Calcutta, which was won by the former in one innings by 152 runs. The Etonians scored 232, while their antagonists in their double innings only scored 80 runs. This is the first notice that we have seen of this healthful game being played at Calcutta.

Cricket at the present day holds a high place, and several excellent teams exist in Calcutta, and have done so for many years.

BALLOONING.

Balloon ascents must have been a novelty indeed in India, when prominent notice is given in the editorial columns of the *Gazette*, of the inflation and ascent of such playthings as those alluded to in the following account :—" Last Friday night (30th July, 1785,) between the hours of 9 and 10, a balloon, measuring six feet in diameter, and filled with rarefied air, was let off from the Esplanade. It mounted very gradually until it had risen about a quarter of a mile, when it ascended with great rapidity, shot towards the west, and got out of sight in about a quarter of an hour from the time of its departure from the earth. Mr. Wintle, the young gentleman who constructed the balloon, will favour the settlement with another exhibition to-morrow evening. This balloon, which measures eight feet in diameter, will be let off from the Esplanade at 8 o'clock in the evening, if the weather will permit; but, should it prove unfavourable, the exhibition will be deferred till Monday evening at the same hour."

The first ascent of a large balloon from the plains of Bengal took place on the 21st March, 1836. Mons. Robertson, the aeronaut, a Frenchman, who had made sixteen previous ascents in various parts of Europe, came expressly to India for the purpose of astonishing the natives with the novel tamasha of a human being wafted out of sight into ethereal space in his fairy car. Such competition is said to have prevailed at Paris for the glory of being the first to make the experiment in India, that M. Robertson was fain to hurry hither before the balloon itself was ready. The ascent took place at the further end of Garden Reach. The balloon rose well, but ere it attained a mile of height, it was seen to return so rapidly earthward, that great apprehensions were entertained for the traveller's neck. The resistance of the air below, however, pressed up the slack of the balloon like an umbrella. The car was thus supported in its descent as by a parachute, and M. Robertson escaped with only a heavy fall. A second ascent was not made in Calcutta, the aeronaut proceeding to Lucknow to make an ascent there. But his early death prevented further ascents. Since then some attempts have been made by a Mr. Kite, but they were failures and ended in the death of the aeronaut in one of his ascents in Burmah.

GARDEN EXCURSIONS.

The Botanical Gardens, three miles distant from Calcutta, are situated on the left bank of the Hooghly. They are undoubtedly the richest and most beautiful gardens in the world; besides a variety of European flowers and shrubs, all the trees and plants of India, nay, we may say of all Asia, and Southern Africa and the Straits, are cultivated here. The garden was begun by Colonel Kyd in March 1786, and collections of plants from different parts of the East were soon introduced into it with such success, that the number of plants brought into it in eight years amounted to more than 300. Dr. Roxburgh joined it in the autumn of 1798. His unremitted

attention to its improvement, and his eminent abilities as a botanist, soon increased the stock of trees and plants, so that in 1831 the number of described species in the garden amounted to 3,500.

From the report of a meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society held in Calcutta on the 14th May, 1827, we learn that a piece of ground at Allypore (Mr. Palmer's garden) was taken on a perpetual lease for a nursery and garden.

The object contemplated was not only to bring to the highest perfection all the fruits and vegetables of Europe and India, but also to raise tea and coffee, and all the medicinal plants, as well as the most useful kinds of trees, in order to supply the gardens of India and Europe. This garden is not only a source of unceasing delight, but also of incalculable benefit to the inhabitants of Calcutta, who constantly resort thither as a retreat in hot weather, and to hold pleasurable parties therein.

The garden which is very extensive, is laid out with much taste. It combines the attraction of a Botanic Garden with that of a Park, and is therefore the great lounge of the citizens of Calcutta. The magnificent banyan trees which adorn it are the scene of many a merry picnic party on the numerous holidays which the Hindoo calendar bestows on the community of the Presidency. One of these, the largest is about a century old, and covers a space of ground 800 feet in circumference. Its trunk girths 5 feet. The garden possesses a noble botanical library which has been enriched, from time to time, by the liberality of Government, and the donations of botanists in Europe and America. The annals of the garden embrace the successive labors of Dr. Roxburgh, Dr. Buchanan, Dr. Wallich, and last, but not least, of the genius and thoroughly accomplished botanist, William Griffith, whose premature death, at the age of thirty-four, was a source of deep lamentation to the scientific world. A noble monument to the memory of the

founder, who died in 1793, stands in a conspicuous part of the garden. Monuments have also been erected in the garden to commemorate the services of Drs. Roxburgh and Jack.

Opposite Baboo's Ghaut, and immediately south of the Esplanade Road, are the Eden Gardens, for which the inhabitants are indebted to the liberality and taste of the Misses Eden, sisters of Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India, whose statue stands in the Gardens.* Here is the Band-stand, where the Town Band, or the Band of the European Regiment stationed in the Fort, discourses sweet music every evening. A large space is laid out and turfed as a promenade, at one end of which stands a fine marble statue of Sir William Peel,* Commander of Her Majesty's Frigate *Shannon*, who led his crew with their guns up to the walls of Lucknow, during the Mutiny of 1857, and died there of small pox. Of late years the Gardens have been greatly enlarged, and laid out with winding paths and artificial water, interspersed with a profusion of beautiful flowering trees, and shrubs—a pleasant place for a morning or evening stroll. In the Gardens is a Burmese Pagoda, removed from Prome after the last war in 1854, and re-erected here in 1856.

* The Statues of Lord Auckland and Sir William Peel are no longer *inside* the Gardens.

CHAPTER X.

OFFICIAL.

An extraordinary scene occurred at the Council Chamber on the 10th June, 1763. Mr. Batson, one of the members, reflected in strong terms upon the conduct of Mr. Hastings while defending some of the Nawab's recent actions. He not only gave Mr. Hastings the lie, but struck him in the presence of the board. The blow was returned, and a most disgraceful fight ensued. Mr. Hastings withdrew from the board and subsequently Mr. Batson. The board were of opinion that Mr. Batson was the aggressor. However, both the gentlemen were ordered to keep their houses till the unhappy dispute should be adjudged by the full council. The majority of the council voted for Mr. Batson's suspension, but on his making a full apology, the majority agreed to his restoration to office and resuming his place in the council; but the president refusing to sit with him, it was decided he was to have the minutes of each member of council after their meeting to record his view—*at his own house*. A violence of a far inferior nature is given by the Court of Directors as a reason for *dismissing* one of the principal members of council of Bengal in the year 1748. The president noticed this circumstance and held therefore that he only upheld the Court's views when he refused Mr. Batson the honor of sitting with them in council.

The Court of Directors made some presents to a Nawab's *children*, and here is a detail of the articles which constituted the presents:—"One silver toothpick; one ditto, large, with instruments; one gilt silver case with smelling bottle; one ditto, large, with instruments; one Chelsea China smelling bottle; one lady's pocket stand, with pens and pencil; one snuff box

ainted with figures; two fuzees, and three pair pistols," the ʼhole valued at Rs. 727. This bill for the presents we find in he "Proceedings," dated January 1764.

The following is a portion of a bill sent in to the Company y Lord Clive as his expenses on his voyage to, and residence uring the first year in, India. It commences with May 1764, nd closes with December 1766:—

"To travelling expenses from Europe over and above the sum of £3,000 paid to me for that purpose by the Hon. Company,	Rs.	73,489-15-4
To amount general expenses from time of arrival until the 31st December, 1766	"	99,629-12-0
To amount of expenses of my table from ditto to ditto	"	97,462- 1-8
To amount of expenses for clothes, linen &c., from ditto to ditto ...	"	16,987- 4-7
For allowances to my secretary, assistants, steward, and others employed under me from ditto to ditto ...	"	19,722-11-4
[Other charges which we need not extract amounting to]	"	11,674-10-7
To balance of this account of expenses general—now given to Mr. Ed. Phillpot for his good and faithful services to me	"	14,928-15-8
	Ct. Rs.	3,33,895- 7-2

These charges were almost wholly met by the sale of the ostly presents made to the Governor by the native princes.

In the "Proceedings" of the 2nd January, 1767, we find the ollowing extraordinary bequest made to Lord Clive, by Meer Mohammad Jaffir Cawn, the Nawab:—"My late most honored ather, venerable at Mecca, (whose offences are wiped away) vhen he was alive, of sound mind, and in the full enjoyment of

all his mortal faculties, after having appointed me his successor, gave me repeated orders to the following purport: 'Out of the whole money and effects, which I have in my possession, I have bequeathed the sum of three lacs fifty thousand in jewels, and one lac in gold mohurs, in all five lacs of rupees in money and effects, to the light of my eyes, the Nabob firm in war, Lord Clive the hero.' Accordingly I have deposited the aforesaid account with my Lady Begum, and you will distribute what remains, after the settlement on your mother the Lady Begum is paid, agreeable to the several proportions which I have allotted."

Hitherto officers who could be spared, and were found qualified, had been employed in making surveys of the country; but these surveys had been found imperfect and could not be depended upon. It was therefore determined by the Court in 1767, to appoint Captain Rennel, "a young man of distinguished merit in this branch," Surveyor-General; and he was directed to "form one general chart from those already made, and such as are now on hand as they can be collected in." "This," the Court continues in their despatch, dated 30th March, "though attended with great labour, does not prevent his prosecuting his own surveys, the fatigue of which and the desperate wounds he has lately received in one of them, have already left him but a shattered constitution. This consideration and his being deprived of every means of advantage while he is thus continually moving up and down a country unexplored by Europeans, to the utmost risk of his life, we hope, will justify us for increasing his salary to Rs. 300 per month, which indeed may be considered as only a just reward for past services and sufferings."

An extract from an act of Parliament of 21st George III is published (1784,) by the Government, "forbidding any British subject or subjects in the service of the said United Company or licensed by them to proceed to India, to reside in any other place in India than in one of the principal settlements belonging to the said United Company, or within ten miles of such

principal settlement, without the special license of the said United Company, or of the President or Governor and Council of such principal settlement, in writing."

A novel mode of reducing the expenditure of the State is hit upon by the government in a notice from the Secret Department of Inspection, dated 27th January, 1785:—

"The Honorable the Governor-General and Council, having thought proper to resolve on a reduction of expense in several departments under this government, and having been consequently obliged to remove some gentlemen in the civil service from their offices and to diminish the allowances, and alter the pensions received by others, notice is hereby given that permission will be granted to persons under these descriptions, who may be willing to avail themselves of it, to return to England on leave of absence, with an allowance of half their allotted salaries payable in Bengal, and without forfeiture of their respective ranks in the service. All such persons are to enjoy their leave of absence for three years, commencing from the day of their arrival in England, on condition of their returning to the service before that period, if required so to do by the Honorable Court of Directors; and all such persons are to notify to the Honorable Court of Directors the day on which they shall arrive in England, and, if not called upon to return to Bengal before the three years are ended, they are to signify their intentions in due time to the Honorable Court of Directors whether it be to remain in England or return to India, and on failure thereof, they are to lose all pretensions to the service.

"The Board, in passing these resolutions, reserve to themselves the power of preventing any civil servant from availing himself of it, who is not ready to declare upon oath that his fortune does not exceed the undermentioned sums—

If a senior merchant	...	...	Rs.	28,000
If a junior merchant	...	...	,,	24,000
If a factor	...	...	,,	19,200"

From certain "rules for the civil establishment in Bengal," issued from the Secret Department of Inspection, dated 27th June, 1785, we learn some curious customs:—

"V. The offices held by, and the established allowance granted to, the civil servants above the rank of writers, to be considered as a full compensation, and in lieu of all other allowance, in consequence of which the old allowances of salary, diet money, palankeen hire, family allowances and house rent are abolished, and are to cease from 1st day of August next, being the first stated period of drawing for them.

"VI. Writers on this establishment are, in lieu of these old allowances, to draw sicca rupees 100 per month, and to have quarters in the New Buildings (two to each house) till they shall have been appointed to an office, salary of which, exclusive of the established allowance, exceeds rupees 300 per month, when their right to quarters shall cease. This allowance of rupees 100 is to be drawn in the office bill in which the writer serves, by the head of that office.

"VII. The head of every office under this government shall draw the whole allowances, establishment, and other expense of his office in one ruled abstract, every month, according to a form that will be furnished by the Civil Paymaster, and shall be answerable for the regular disbursements of the whole. To the office pay of each covenanted writer serving in his office, he shall add rupees 100 per month, as is stated in the VIth rule, and regularly mark every change occasioned by death, removal, or any other cause.

"VIII. All demands upon this government, whether for salary or any other purpose, must be made within one month after they become due, on forfeiture of 10 per cent. of the whole demand, to be stopped from the person authorized to receive it, and if not made within three months after it is due, the whole sum to be forfeited to government. This order to be in force from and after the 1st day of August next.

"IX. Every demand of a contingent nature, and not provided for in any of the fixed establishments (except the petty charges of office, not exceeding rupees 100) must be accompanied with a special order from the Council before it is presented for payment to any of the pay offices.

"X. An invariable establishment being now fixed for every office under this government, no excuse will ever be admitted for drawing improper bills, or presenting unauthorized demands. Every person attempting this shall forfeit the amount of the sum so demanded for the first offence; and for the second shall, in addition thereto, suffer such other punishment as the Board may think proper to inflict.

"XII. Every head of the office under this government is to be answerable for the regular attendance of all the servants under him, and the office hours are hereby declared to be from 9 o'clock to 1 in the forenoon, and from 7 o'clock till 9 in the evening, from the 1st day of April till the 30th day of September; and from 10 till 2 in the forenoon, and 7 till 9 in the evening, from the 1st day of October to the 31st March. No civil servant under the rank of factor to be exempted from this rule.

"XIV. No postage to be charged in future on letters on the service, but the head of every office to sign his name on the outside of every letter on the public business; and any person convicted of conveying letters on their private concerns under such signature, to be punished with the utmost severity."

Secret Department of Inspection, 27th June, 1785.—"The Honorable the Governor-General and Council have been pleased to order and resolve that no house rent shall be allowed after the 1st of August next, excepting that specially granted by the Company, viz:—

To a field-officer having no quarters		sa.	rs. 120	p. month.
To a captain	ditto	...	90	„
To a subaltern	ditto	...	60	„

"No civil servant who now draws house or office rent is henceforth to draw more on either of these accounts than the sum allowed by the Company to a field-officer, if such servant be above the rank of factor. If such servant be a factor or writer, he is to be allowed for office rent 90 sicca rupees.

"Resolved, that the allowances granted to servants whose offices have been abolished, or who are out of any employ, be reformed to the following amount:—

"For a senior merchant not married sa. rs.	830	p. month.
Ditto married	1,000	,,
For a junior merchant not married ...	600	,,
Ditto married	800	,,
For a factor not married, and quarters ...	300	,,
Ditto married, and quarters	500	,,

"Gentlemen holding these pensions may be employed on commissions of temporary service, with such additional allowances as the board may choose to grant to them."

At this early period, we learn from the following extract of a letter from the Court under date 21st September, 1785, that the purloining of official records from the Calcutta offices had become rather common:—

"Para. 50.—We have long regretted an abuse which is now become so prevalent, and has gone to such an extent that we must be peremptory in taking the most effectual measures to put an end to it. We allude to the practice of our servants having access to, and transmitting home to their private correspondents, such part of our records as they think proper. Our orders, therefore, are, that no person but the members of the different boards shall have access to their records, except the secretaries of such boards, and those entrusted by them; and that no private copies shall be given thereof, except to the president of each board, if he shall desire it. To those persons so entrusted we shall look for responsibility; and if copies of any of our papers, correspondence, or records, shall be

discovered in the possession of any persons not warranted by the government, either at home or abroad, we shall certainly take the most effectual measures in our power to discover by whose means the communication has been made, and will dismiss from our service any person who shall be found guilty of disobeying these our orders.

"51. Another practice of a similar nature likewise calls for our animadversion. Many of our servants possessing our most confidential situations are accustomed to indulge themselves, without reserve, in corresponding, by their private letters, upon the public affairs of the Company. This is attended with many inconveniences, and is directly contrary to our repeated orders, and we desire you will take the most effectual means to prevent it; and if any of our servants presume to continue in a practice so contrary to our wishes and orders, we shall certainly mark our disapprobation by the severest tokens of our displeasure."

In the beginning of the year, the Governor-General issued an order that after the 1st March, 1788, "no persons in the civil or military service of the Company shall be allowed to proceed from the Company's provinces beyond Buxar without the Governor-General's pass, to be produced to the commanding officer of that post, unless such persons are under orders (which shall appear either in the Gazette or by an official signature) to proceed to stations beyond that place, or unless they should be returning to their stations after the expiration of leave of absence. The same orders respect Europeans in general, who are not in the service of the Company."

On the 1st May, 1793 a regulation was passed by the Governor-General in Council, which directed that "no British subjects (excepting King's officers, serving under the presidency of Fort William, the civil covenanted servants of the Company, and their military officers) shall be permitted to reside at a greater distance from Calcutta than ten miles, unless they enter

into a bond rendering themselves amenable to the court of Dewany Adawlut, within the jurisdiction of which they may reside in all civil suits that may be instituted against them by natives or inhabitants of either of the provinces of Bengal, Behar or Orissa, coming within the descriptions of persons declared amenable to the zillah and city courts for any sum of money or thing, the amount or value of which shall not exceed five hundred sicca rupees, and that this bond is to be executed in open court, before the judge of the court within the jurisdiction of which such British subject may reside or take up his abode."

In consequence of the above order the various districts were called upon to furnish "complete and correct lists of all Europeans, whether British subjects or subjects of foreign states (France excepted), not in the civil, military or marine services of the Honorable Company, or admitted advocates, attorneys, or officers of the Supreme Court of Judicature, wherever residing within the provinces, annually to be laid before the board."

The stringency with which European adventurers were kept from entering the service, or even the dominions of native princes on the borders of the English territories, is shown in the following order, by the Commander-in-Chief, dated 17th March, 1794:—"The only check to Europeans not in the Company's service, going beyond the provinces without a passport, being Buxar, which post they would avoid by taking the New Road, the Commander-in-Chief, at the desire of the Governor-General in Council, directs, that no European, not in the Company's service, be suffered to pass the stations of Chunar, Cawnpore and Futtyghur, unless a regular passport is produced."

On the 27th March, 1800, the following order appeared in the Public Department:—"Ordered that no persons, natives of India, whose fathers only are Europeans, be allowed to pass from the Company's provinces beyond Buxar without a passport

from Government." The order, dated January 4th, 1788, which has already been referred to, only mentioned *Europeans* in general, as prohibited passing beyond the then frontiers of Bengal. Probably advantage of this order was taken by many who were not Europeans or natives, and hence the issue of the second order in 1800.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors, in letters dated the 11th December, 1793, and the 28th May 1794, ordered that new covenants should be taken from every person in their service; this had been rendered necessary by a change in the Company's license regarding persons residing in India. The wording of the order was in the usual peremptory tone of the day as follows:—" We direct that every person in our service be called upon immediately to execute the covenants proper to his station, and that on his refusing to do so, he be dismissed and have notice to come home. We also direct that all other British subjects, residing under your presidency, whether with or without license, be forthwith called upon to execute the covenants proper to their stations, and that on neglect or refusal to execute they have notice to quit India; which notice if they refuse to obey, you must enforce by sending them home in such manner as the law allows, as we are determined not to permit any persons in future to reside in India, without our license and being under proper covenant, so that any irregularity of conduct may be more readily corrected. With regard to persons who reside under your presidency, and have not entered into covenants of any description, we have sent a number of covenants of the denomination of covenants of *free merchants*, *free mariners* and of *persons permitted to reside in India;* these are calculated to suit all persons, who are to reside under the Company's protection, and you will take care that each person executes one of these descriptions in the mode already pointed out." Then there were certain obligations for furnishing " two responsible persons in England to enter into security in the sum of £2,000," on behalf of such as were termed *free*

merchants. Upon the receipt of these instructions from the Court, the Governor-General issued orders that each person in whatever part of the dominions he might be, should before the 20th of April, transmit information to the various heads of their districts, viz., "Their names, professions, or occupations; the names of the country or state of which they are subject; the dates of their arrival in Bengal; the places of their actual residence, and the periods of their residence therein." Then follows the usual threat of summary deportation if such information was not duly furnished.

That no newcomers should land in India without the necessary licenses the following stringent instructions were given to the Marine authorities:—"The commanders of all foreign vessels, importing at Calcutta, are required to deliver in to the Master Attendant's office, on their arrival, the names of the commanders, officers, crews and passengers on board the said vessels, and that the Master Attendant is positively prohibited from furnishing any foreign vessel importing at Calcutta, with a pilot, until such list shall have been delivered to him."

On the 17th November, 1791, Jonathan Duncan, Esq., the English Resident, accompanied by Nawab Aly Ibrahim Khan, the two assistants, and other gentlemen, and a large concourse of the native inhabitants, paid the first visit to the new Hindoo College founded at Benares by the British Government.

The Court of Directors, "taking into consideration the great probability of a vacancy happening in the office of Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, by the Marquis Cornwallis returning to England, came to the resolution on the 21st September, 1792, of appointing John Shore, Esq., to be Governor-General in case of the death, resignation, or coming away, of the Marquis Cornwallis, and that the said John Shore, Esq., should receive the sum of 10,000 current rupees per month, from the day he embarks, until he succeeds to the Governor-Generalship of Bengal."

The pecuniary affairs of the Hon'ble East India Company were brought before Parliament on the occasion of an application to renew the Company's charter in 1793:—"The affairs of the Company," said Mr. Dundas, "he thought highly prosperous; they were in a quick train of liquidating all demands on them, both at home and abroad, and the time, he hoped, was not far distant when they would actually contribute to relieve the burdens of the country, instead of calling on us for further aid." At this time the public debt of the Company must have been very large; as twenty-five lakhs had been set aside to pay off a portion of those debts, and this sum represented but a very small fraction of the total amount.

We may have some idea of the kind and quantity of work gone through by the Secretary's office in Calcutta (Public Department,) from the following detail of stationery which was required as the supply, we suppose, for one year (1792)—"Book paper 9 reams; consultation 19 reams; general letter 25 ditto; foolscap 63 ditto; quarto post 43 ditto; office penknives 125; strops 8; ink powder 375 papers; country sand 50 seers; Europe pounce 30 ℔; country sealing wax 2,100 sticks; wafers 63 boxes; pencils 190 sticks; India rubbers 9; compasses 13 pairs; half-bound books, consultation, 2 quires each, 6; ditto general letter, 2 do., 5; ditto 3 do., 13; ditto 4 do., 9; ditto folio post, 9; paste boards, 500 sheets; wedgewood glasses, 8."

On the 5th of October, 1794, a general court was held at the East India House, when it would appear that the object of the meeting was to raise a large sum of money to meet the requirements of some great war in prospect:—"Mr. Lushington opened the business of the day, by congratulating the Court on so crowded an attendance. He said, the present contest was a contest for existence, as well as property. He was ready to contribute a part of his own property for the support of a just and necessary war," &c., &c. As the other speakers on the

occasion only alluded to the removal of sundry moneys which had been deposited for establishing new courts of justice at Madras and Bombay, and devoting the same for the purposes of the meeting, without further alluding to such purposes, we at this distance of time are unable to fathom what the reason for such alienation of public money could have been. One speaker alluded to this sum of money being lent to Government. Another proposed to raise regiments, but for what service no clue is given ; and another speaker makes the whole still more unintelligible by saying—"Before the time the men were raised, forces might be absolutely wanted for the defence of the Company's house and warehouses ; for they, he was well assured, were marked down as the first objects of destruction."

The Court of Directors, at a general court of proprietors on the 26th June, 1793, came to the resolution—"That this Court, taking into consideration the zeal, ability, and disinterestedness manifested by the Most Noble Marquis Cornwallis, in the conduct of the East India Company's affairs during the whole of the period for which he has presided over the British interests in India, are of opinion that as a mark of the high sense entertained by this court of His Lordship's merits and services, the Marquis Cornwallis be requested to accept an annuity of five thousand pounds, to issue out of the territorial revenues in India, for the term of twenty years, to commence from the day of his departure from India ; and that the same be paid to His Lordship, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, for the time aforesaid."

A rather strange mode of conducting auctions for the disposal of old government stores is evidenced in the following advertisement by "R. Kennaway, Import Warehousekeeper," under date the 14th April, 1795 :—"Notice is hereby given, that on Friday, the 8th of May next, will be exposed to sale by public auction at the Import Warehouse, in the Old Fort, for

sicca rupees, and deliverable by the factory weight, a quantity of iron belonging to the Honorable Company, on the following conditions: whoever buys a lot to pay down one rupee to bind the purchase, and deposit five per cent. in money or Company's paper, on the amount in one month from day of sale; if the iron is cleared out in six months, the purchaser to be allowed a disconnt of nine per cent. and if after six months, and within nine months from the day of sale, a discount of three per cent.; but should the iron not be cleared out at the expiration of nine months, it is then to be resold by public auction, and the former purchaser to make good any loss or charges on the resale; on failure of the deposit being made in one month, the iron to be immediately resold at the risk and charge of the first purchaser."

The Honorable the Court of Directors having directed that they may be furnished annually with a correct alphabetical list of the European inhabitants of Calcutta and its environs, an order was issued, under date the 1st of October, that every European residing in Calcutta or the suburbs should transmit their names to the Registrar of Covenants by the 1st of November, 1795.

On the 29th May, 1795, a general court of proprietors was held at the India House "to consider the long, faithful and important services of Warren Hastings, Esq., and the expediency of paying the expenses of his defence."

Mr. W. Lushington went into a "statement of Mr. Hastings' conduct since the year 1762, at which time his services became important to the Company; his being nominated second in council at Madras, and succeeding to the government at Bengal in 1772, when a field of action appeared to his view, of the most dangerous nature for him to undertake, but promising the greatest increase to the interests of the Company. The system he adopted, relative to the collecting of customs on the article of salt, had increased the produce of

that article to £800,000 or 900,000 annually, and from the other measures he adopted, the revenues of Bengal were now increased upwards of two millions per annum, the benefit of which the proprietors had felt in the augmentation of their dividend, and the public in the participation fund." He then stated "the amount of Mr. Hastings' fortune to be £1,000 a year, and that Mrs. Hastings had not more than twice that income, which certainly was not sufficient to enable them to support the proper dignity of his former rank in the Company's service." He also stated "the expenses of his defence to amount to £70,000 and upwards, which common justice required of the Company to discharge."

At a general court of proprietors held at the India House on the 26th March, 1795, some discussion occurred on the general subject of permitting officers to return to India with their rank. The question originated on such a permission having been granted to Mr. J. Pattle of the civil service. Sir Francis Baring observed that, "by the regulations of the year 1734, any persons going out to India with their rank, the resolution of the committee upon that point must be sanctioned by a General Court of Proprietors; from that time to this, only two cases had occurred, which were so recommended to the general court. Mr. Pattle was a man the most capable of any to render the Company great and essential service, and one whose merits claimed every regard from their hands."

At the same meeting of the Court the report of the committee on the bye-laws was read, which proposed—"That no Director should trade to and from India." The discussion that took place on that occasion was rather curious, and we give it verbatim as reported:—

"Mr. Twining thought some time should be allowed to those gentlemen who were engaged in private commerce, in order to conclude and wind up their transactions. Two years he thought would be a sufficiency.

"Mr. Randal Jackson thought that in this case the law would be insufficient ; by changing of characters the abuse would still continue, and he wished to see it totally abrogated ; before, however, he proposed any alteration, he desired to hear the opinion of the learned counsel respecting whether this law would extend to agencies.

"Mr. Rous gave his opinion that it would extend to agencies.

"Mr. Lushington confessed, though he could not cure the whole of this evil, yet he was willing to destroy as large a portion of it as he possibly could. He would allow agents to take half per cent. in money remittances as a commission.

"Mr. Elphinstone thought the same objection lay against the half per cent. as against the other part of the case, for it went to give a profit to the Directors, and so far subjected them to the influence of those who ought to be their servants abroad.

"Mr. Randal Jackson said, the principle of the measure was this, to destroy that monstrous absurdity that the servants of the Company abroad should have an influence upon the Directors here at home. Those who ought to obey, by this would be able to command, in consequence of their being able to influence the Directors. This being the case, unless the money agency was abolished, but a small part of the evil was cured, for it amounted to seven-eighths of the whole.

"Mr. Twining thought the money agency was not included within the intention of the committee.

"Mr. Randal Jackson contended that the benefit would be frittered away unless it extended as far.

"After some further conversation the resolution was amended by precluding all sorts of agency, to which a profit was attached, and then unanimously passed.

"Mr. Grant stated, that eight years ago, before he was called to the direction, at a considerable expense he established an indigo manufactory, which if included in this resolution would be considerably detrimental to him. The importation of this article did not clash with the commerce of the Company, and its circumstances were so peculiar, that Lord Cornwallis had thought proper, when he called him to the Council Board in India, to make an exemption in favor of him.

"The case of H. Grant, Esq., was referred to a committee."

In an order, dated the 21st December, 1798, the Governor-General "apprizes the civil servants of the Company in Bengal, that from and after the 1st January, 1801, no servant will be deemed eligible to any of the offices hereinafter mentioned until he shall have passed an examination (the nature of which will be hereafter determined,) in the laws and regulations and in the languages, a knowledge of which is hereby declared to be an indispensable qualification for such respective office. The languages, a knowledge of which will be considered requisite in the several offices in the Judicial, Revenue and Commercial departments, are—

"For the office of Judge or Register of any Court of Justice, in the provinces of Bengal, Behar, Orissa or Benares—the Hindostanee and the Persian languages.

"For the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs, or Commercial Resident, or Salt Agent, in the provinces of Bengal or Orissa—the Bengalee language.

"For the office of Collector of Revenue or of Customs, or Commercial Resident, or Agent for the provision of opium, in the provinces of Behar or Orissa—the Hindostanee language."

On the 14th January, 1799, an attempt to revolt against the Government was made by Vizier Ally, the deposed Nawab of Oude, and a few of his adherents at Benares. The first step in that diabolical scheme was the murder of all the English at

Benares, men, women and children. The plot was discovered at the outset, though not before the lives of Mr. Cherry, the British Resident at Benares, and several other English gentlemen were sacrificed. Vizier Ally, who was visiting Mr. Cherry by appointment, first drew his sword upon him; whereupon his attendants unsheathed theirs, and on Mr. Cherry's attempting to escape, Warris Ally, one of the attendants struck him lifeless on the floor. Warris Ally was the confidential friend of the deposed Vizier, the prime adviser of all his measures, and more especially of this murderous plot at Benares. Warris Ally escaped and eluded capture for twelve years, when, thinking that he would not be recognized after such a lapse of time, he ventured in disguise to revisit Lucknow, where he was at once apprehended and cast into jail in July 1811.

On the 9th October, 1799, "the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, having taken into consideration the present establishment of the office of the secretary to the government, has been pleased to order that instead of a secretary to government and four sub-secretaries, the establishment shall in future consist of a chief secretary to the government, and of four secretaries, viz., one secretary for the Secret, Political and Foreign department; one secretary for the Public department; one secretary for the Judicial and Revenue department; and one secretary for the Military department."

"The Most Noble the Governor-General will give audience from 10 until 12 o'clock on Monday next"—such is the wording of an announcement in the *Gazette* of the 25th September, 1800. This patriarchal custom of hearing complaints and receiving petitions from the common people on certain days appears to have been rather common at that time. A renovation of the custom would be an improvement upon our present red tape system.

Some disputes appear to have arisen at Calcutta with respect to female rank and precedence, which led to a memorial to the

Court of Directors whose decision was as follows:—"That all ladies who are entitled to precedence in England, whether by birth or marriage, retain it in India; this does not, however, affect the precedence of wives of members of council, who take rank according to the rank of their husbands in the service." This related, we presume, to the ladies of the Company's servants only.

The Company's debts had been gradually increasing in amount till, on the 31st December, 1797, they had reached a total of Sa. Rs. 650,000,000, and public credit began to be seriously affected. The Governor-General brought the matter before the Court, and it was determined to "appropriate the surplus resources of this presidency, whenever there may be any surplus, to the discharge of the register debt, according to priority of date." And the mode to be adopted was rather a singular one:—"A fund shall be established in Bengal for the redemption of the existing and future debts of the Company in India, to be provided by bills to be drawn by the Honorable Court of Directors, quarterly, and to consist of no less a proportion of the principal of the debts for the time being, than two per cent. per annum, to be applied invariably, towards the redemption of the debt of this presidency, together with the interest that may from time to time accrue, upon all securities that may be so redeemed, as soon as may be practicable, after it shall have been received; and the General Treasury shall be opened accordingly for the receipt of cash, for each quarterly appropriation for which bills upon the Honorable Court of Directors will be prepared by the Deputy Accountant-General as usual, in any sum that may be required."

On the 4th May, 1799 Seringapatam was taken by assault. Tippoo Sultan fell in the battle; two of his sons and many of the principal sirdars falling into our hands as prisoners. A very copious and curious library was found in the fortress of Seringa atam; the books were in chests, each having its

particular wrapper, and generally in good preservation. Some were very richly adorned and illuminated, in style of the old Missals found in monasteries. The collection was very large, and consisted of thousands of volumes, and must have proved a very great acquisition to Europe of oriental history and literature.

On the 10th November, 1801, a treaty was concluded at Lucknow between the Honorable East India Company and His Excellency the Nawab Vizier of Oude, by which the Nawab ceded to the Company in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions of his territorial possessions, yielding an annual revenue of one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, in commutation of the subsidy hitherto payable to the Company by the Vizier. The following is a statement of the jumma of the territories ceded to the Company by the Nawab Vizier :—

Corah, Kurrah and Etawa,	...	Rs.	55,48,577	11	9
Rehr and others ...	...	,,	5,33,374	0	6
Furruckabad and others	...	,,	4,50,001	0	0
Khairaghur and others	...	,,	2,10,001	0	0
Azimghur and others ...	...	,,	6,95,621	7	6
Goruckpore and others	...	,,	5,49,854	8	0
Allahabad and others ...	...	,,	9,34,963	1	3
Bareilly and others ...	...	,,	43,13,457	11	3
Nawabgunge and others	...	,,	1,19,842	12	0
Mohowl and others ...	...	,,	1,68,378	4	0
	Total	Rs.	1,35,24,071	8	3

In an order dated Fort William, 22nd April, 1802, the Governor-General says, he "has had under consideration the expense incurred annually by allowing a commission of ten per cent. on the amount of disbursements of public money, and being satisfied that the principle of proportioning the profits of an individual to his expenditure of the public money is highly objectionable, His Excellency in Council orders and

directs that commission on all expenditures, where cash may be advanced to officers by the paymasters, shall be abolished on the 1st of June, 1802."

On the 9th July, 1806, Lord Morpeth moved the order of the day in the House of Commons, for the House resolving itself into committee on the East India annual accounts, when it appeared that the net amount of debts of the Company bearing interest on 30th April, 1805, was £21,604,967 showing an *increase* of debt of £2,573,033, notwithstanding that the "resources of India" were stated to be "very great and productive, and might be rendered still greater by a system of economy."

The progress of the Company's debt in the following years was most rapid. In the year 1799 it was £12,800,000; in the year 1810 it had increased to thirty-five millions, and in the year 1822 it was nearly thirty-eight millions; and yet during all these periods they had Governors-General abroad, and the Directors at home, boasting of the balance of the revenue above expenditure, and paying dividends of eight per cent.; and whilst thus boasting of the prosperity of the Company generally, their servants abroad and at home were launching deeper and deeper in the boundless ocean of debt.

A proclamation was issued by the Governor-General for a general thanksgiving for the late signal and important successes obtained by the Naval and Military Forces of His Majesty and of his allies, and for the ultimate and happy establishment of the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India, on the 6th of February 1800, throughout the whole of the Company's provinces. In Calcutta the thanksgiving sermon was preached by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, which was so highly appreciated that it elicited the following "Minute of Council," dated the 11th February:—"Ordered, that the thanks of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council be given to the Reverend Claudius

Buchanan, for the excellent sermon by him preached before His Lordship at the new church at Calcutta on the 6th day of February, the day of general thanksgiving appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and that Mr. Buchanan be desired to print the said sermon."

On the above day the Right Honorable the Governor-General, accompanied by the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, and the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature and by the public officers, civil and military, proceeded to the new church, to return thanks to God for these great mercies and blessings. His Lordship proceeded on foot from the Government House to the church at about half past 6 o'clock in the morning through Council House Street, which was lined by the Body Guard, the Native troops in Garrison at Fort William, and the Calcutta Native Militia, and the avenues into the streets through which His Lordship passed, were guarded by parties detached from the above mentioned corps. Three royal salutes were fired from the ramparts of Fort William: the first on the Governor-General's setting out from the Government House; the second during the celebration of the *Te Deum;* and the third, on His Lordship's return. Several ships in port also fired salutes. On this solemn occasion, all the persons (amounting to upwards of sixty in number) confined for debt in the prison of the Court of Requests, were liberated in the name of the Honorable Company, the respective sums for which they were imprisoned having been discharged by order of the Governor-General in Council. Several prisoners in the Calcutta Jail confined for debt were also liberated.

Applications being often made to the Court of Directors, by parties who had returned from India, for leave to proceed again to that country, for the purpose either of following the pursuits in which they originally embarked, or of settling the affairs which had grown out of their former engagements, it

was determined in 1827, that such permission would be granted only on condition of the applicants "producing proof of their having conducted themselves to the satisfaction of your" (the Indian) "government."

From some debates held at the India House in June 1827, we learn the prices given at that time for commissions in the Army:—"That of cornet or ensign from £500 to 1,200; for lieutenant from £700 to 1,700; for captain from £1,800 to 3,500; and lieutenant-colonel from £4,500 to 9,000. These were the prices by the regulations of the service; but it was well known that when disposed of privately they frequently fetched one-third more." One speaker, alluding to the patronage in the hands of the Directors, stated that there were—in 1821, appointments made to the services of the value of £643,000; in 1822 of £401,000; in 1823 of £505,000; in 1824 of £499,000, and in 1825 of £662,000, or a total in five years of £2,710,000, being an average of appointments amounting to £542,000 in each year, and the yearly value of the patronage of each director to be £22,583. Besides these, there were the appointments of bishops, judges, lawyers, home and foreign agents, and attorneys, some of them making £15,000 a year by their practice, the professorships at Addiscombe and Haileybury, in addition to £2,500 snug appointments in the India House itself! There were alse contracts for shipping, for stores, for army clothing, paper and many other things which became the sources of immense profit. Truly such were halcyon days for those of our forefathers who were connected with Hon'ble John.

The following order abolished the custom of presenting *nuzzurs* to public functionaries:—

"*Fort William, June 2nd, 1829.*—The Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council having resolved to abolish the custom, which prevails generally throughout the provinces subject to this presidency, of natives presenting *nuzzurs* in money, and trays of fruit and other articles, on the occasion of their

paying official or complimentary visits to public functionaries in the service of the Hon. Company, it is hereby notified, for the general information of all public officers under this presidency, that the custom in question is strictly prohibited from the date of the publication of this notice, and that it is the expectation of government that all public functionaries will adopt every measure within their power to make this prohibition generally known and obeyed by all natives, of whatever rank or degree, with whom they may have official or private intercourse.

"In directing the abolition of the custom above referred to, the Governor-General in Council deems it due to the servants of the Hon. Company generally to declare, that the measure has not been adopted by government, on the ground that it has been perverted to improper purposes by any public officer under government, but from the conviction that it subjects natives to useless, and frequently vexatious expense, and to extortion on the part of menial servants and dependants. His Lordship in Council is indeed fully persuaded that the abolition of a practice open to such serious objections will be viewed with satisfaction by every officer in the Hon. Company's service."

Some particulars are given in the *India Gazette* of July 1828, of the mission sent by the Campany to Runjeet Singh. We shall quote a portion of it:

"A short distance from the town of Kapathalah, the mission were met by a deputation from Futty Singh. The *cortége* was formed of four or five elephants, escorted by 250 ill-mounted and ill-dressed horsemen, who formed a street for the mission to pass through. They escorted the mission to their encampment, and in the evening Futty Singh paid a visit to the mission, which was a few hours afterwards returned. *

* * * * *

"On the last march to Amritsir, the mission were met at daybreak by a large procession from the court, composed of some hundreds of horse and foot, with many of the nobles, and

headed by Shere Singh, Runjeet's second son, a handsome-looking young man, about twenty-six years of age, and five feet eight inches high. He is a stout, short-necked, well-proportioned, and strong-looking man, with a rather fair complexion. His countenance is handsome, with a somewhat haughty expression. He is not suspected of being too cordial towards the English. The young prince and his nobles were mounted on elephants, their elegantly caparisoned steeds being led. All the persons forming the procession wore a costume of the same colour, *viz.*, bright amber, which had a rich effect. The young chief and many of the courtiers wore their golden plumes, and some the heron plume on the right side of the turban which slightly inclined forward. Shere Singh's state elephant was not the least conspicuons object in the pageant. The fine animal had round his neck a costly collar of embossed gold divided into circles of about eighteen inches in circumference and linked together. These golden circles were somewhat convex in shape, and reached as far as the elephant's chest; from each ear also depended rolls of thickly twisted gold cord. The jowl was made of the finest crimson velvet, profusely embroidered with gold; this was surmounted by a richly and chastely embossed gold howdah.

"Next day the British mission went in state to pay a visit to the Maharajah. The officers of the mission were mounted on elephants, preceded by the troops of cavalry and the rear was brought up by the company of infantry, forming the other moiety of the escort. On their way to the palace, situated in the Rambaugh, they were met by Rajah Dhyan Singh, brother-in-law to Runjeet, handsomely accoutred in a coat of highly polished steel mail. Dhyan Singh is about twenty-seven years old, and very handsome. A body of lancers now approached and divided itself on either flank of the mission, and in this manner accompanied it to within two hundred yards of the outer gate of the palace, where it was received into a

street composed of a battalion of infantry and a regiment of dismounted cavalry.

"Immediately at the head of this military avenue, and as the mission turned into the palace, were placed two pieces of horse artillery, which gave a very tolerable salute. The mission proceeded across a bridge into a kind of court-yard or open space, where the escort remained while the British gentlemen entered the second gateway into the garden, in the centre of which is the palace. The walk leading to it from the gate is wide and paved, and on this occasion was lined on each side by scarlet cloth kannauts. At certain intervals there were suspended overhead handsome canopies of shawl and cloth.

"When within twenty yards of the palace the gentlemen of the mission dismounted from their elephants. From the place at which they dismounted to the presence there was a daïs of fine cloth. The Maharajah sat in state in a large open room or verandah, which was carpeted with a shawl, and overhead was a beautifully worked shawl canopy. On the near approach of the gentlemen of the mission, the ruler of Cashmere arose and advanced some steps to meet Capt. Wade, whom he embraced, after which the other gentlemen in succession paid their compliments to Runjeet, always, however, keeping the head covered. They then took their seats on silver chairs with crimson and yellow velvet cushions, Runjeet in an elegant gold embossed chair. After a short pause they were each separately introduced to the Maharajah by one of the ministers. After this ceremony the Governor-General's letter was read in open court, which appeared to afford the most lively satisfaction to all, especially Runjeet himself. Shere Singh appeared thoughtful or indifferent, while a smile of dubious meaning for the most part passed over his lips.

"After the letter was read, Lord Amherst's presents were displayed and pronounced to be handsome. Among them

were two English stallions, a four-barrelled gun, a musical dressing-case, &c. There was a quantity of shawls also, which perhaps the sovereign of Cashmere held less in estimation than articles of a more exotic nature. There was also a handsome and valuable head-piece for the Ranee, an elephant with a silver howdah, &c. On the right of the Maharajah sat the son of Dhyan Singh, a pretty-looking child, about five years of age, who appeared almost oppressed with his gorgeous and glittering garnishings; for diamonds, emeralds, and pearls appeared to be so studded and heaped upon the boy's person that he seemed more like a casket of gems than a young courtier. Magnificence here was evidently unaided by a correct taste. On the left was seated the son of Futty Singh, a well-grown youth, about fifteen years of age: his dress was perhaps not less costly than the others; but a more happy and less cumbersome arrangement of jewels gave a greater degree of elegance to his appearance. On the second seat from the right sat the brother of Dowdh Singh, the distinguished hero of Attock: on the second seat from the left sat the Rajah's second son, Shere Singh, and the only one of his sons present. He, as well as the other princes and chiefs, were most magnificently dressed, and ornamented with valuable jewels, each appearing to vie with the other in splendour of dress and decoration. The court dress was of a rich yellow colour, which added to the imposing effect. The old chief himself was, if possible, the most gorgeously arrayed of all. In the centre of Runjeet's turban there was a costly ornament composed of various jewels, which were so arranged as best to set off each other: from this there was suspended by a small gold link a diamond of vast beauty and magnitude, in shape and size somewhat resembling a pigeon's egg. On his neck, and reaching low down his bosom, he had a most beautiful pearl necklace: at the centre were ten of the size of musket bullets, decreasing at the sides till reduced to the size of peas and none less. He had a smaller pearl necklace, a collar that fitted close

to the neck, with pearls of the like size; and his wrists and ankles were similarly adorned; on his shoulders, and reaching quite across in much the same manner as the wings of a light infantry officer, he had three rows of diamonds the size of the end of one's finger. Round his loins was girded a glittering zone of rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and pearls, and in this girdle was stuck a dagger, ornamented to correspond. His shield was in harmony with all this magnificence. Rather above the wrist he wore a kind of bracelet of beautifully lucid large diamond drops. There was a singular etiquette observed in regard to the distribution of the seats of honor.

"Rajah Dhyan Singh, Runjeet's favourite, was seated on the ground after the oriental fashion, while his child sat on a chair (an honorary distinction). The same favour was granted to Dowdh Singh's brother, who sat in a chair on the left, while the conqueror of Attock himself was seated on a carpet.

"None of the European officers in Runjeet's service (Ventura, Allard, &c.,) were present at this durbar. On inquiry as to the cause of their absence, the reason given evinced a delicate and generous consideration on the part of the Maharajah. These officers being his servants, it was not consistent with etiquette that they should sit in the presence, and rather than that they should seem degraded in the eyes of the mission, or have their feelings wounded, their presence on this occasion was dispensed with."

CHAPTER XI.

ADVERTISEMENTS ILLUSTRATING CUSTOMS OF THE TIME.

THE following is an advertisement to sailors, in 1780, to engage in privateering, which was then reckoned a favorable opening to men seeking their fortune:—"To all gentlemen, seamen and lads of enterprize and true spirit, who are ambitious of making an honorable independence by the plunder of the enemies of their country, the *Death or Glory* privateer, a prime sailing vessel, commanded by James Bracey, mounting six 22 pounders, twelve cohorns, and twenty swivels, and carrying a hundred and twenty men—will leave Calcutta in a few days on a five months' cruise against the Dutch, French and Spaniards. The best treatment and encouragement will be given."

Mr. James Wittit, a very successful "Europe and China shopkeeper," whose "dwelling-house, shop, and warehouses" were near the Bankshall, and who had a garden-house, "on the road from the Boytoconnah to the burial ground," in 1784, invites inspection of his premises and conference as to terms of sale, &c., "any day of the week, except Sunday," a very remarkable exception in those days. *Hicky's Gazette* for March 1781, refers to Mr. Wittit's endeavours to put good books into circulation. A Hudibrastic rhyming list of goods for sale commences thus—

"Ladies' caps to adorn the head;
Shrouds to wrap them in when dead;
Salves to cure the itch or evil;
Bible books to scare the devil,
As good as e'er old Wittit did sell."

[Advt.] "TOM FATT, native of China, begs leave to inform the gentlemen of Calcutta, and the public in general

that any persons having tanks in their gardens, or elsewhere, and being desirous to have them cleared out, he will contract with them for the same upon very reasonable terms, being certain that he can finish the work quicker than any Bengal people, by means of a China pump. Any gentleman willing to contract with the said Mr. Fatt, is requested to enquire at his Rum Works, at Sulkey, opposite Calcutta. N. B.—He makes loaf sugar equal in quality to that made in Europe, and excellent sugar-candy. Also all sorts of cabinet-work the same as in China. *Calcutta, 4th March*, 1784."

Tom Fatt did not live long after the above advertisement appeared, for in June, 1784, all his stock-in-trade, and his distillery at "Sulkey," are offered for sale.

[Advt.] FENCING.—Mr. Soubise begs leave to acquaint his friends and the gentlemen of the settlement, that he proposes to teach the art of fencing upon the following terms:—"Two gold-mohurs entrance, and two gold-mohurs per month. He has taken a convenient house for the purpose, behind the 'Harmonic.' His days are Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Such gentlemen as choose to take private lessons at their own houses, will be attended on Tuesdays and Saturdays, in which case his terms are three gold-mohurs entrance, and three gold-mohurs per month. *23rd June*, 1784."

On the 2nd of September, 1784, was put up for sale by auction "that extensive piece of ground belonging to Warren Hastings, Esq., called Rishera (Ishera) situated on the western bank of the river, two miles below Serampore, consisting of 136 beegahs."

Messrs. Davidson and Co, inform their friends and the public that they have established (December 1787) in Entally a "washing and mangling business." The following were their charges:—

For a lady or gentleman	...	Rs. 6	per month.
A child from 7 to 12 years old	...	,, 4	ditto.

A child under 6 years	... Rs. 2	per month
A servant ...	... ,, 1	ditto.

[Advt.] "FLOUR MILL.—Mr. Christopher Dexter begs leave to inform the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, and the public in general, that he has erected at a very considerable expense, a mill for grinding flour, being the first of the kind ever known in Bengal. The stones, which are real French Burs, are the very best produced in Europe; their principal excellence consists in leaving no sand in the flour, a fault but too general with the Bengali bakers. He has also erected ovens under the inspection of two European bakers, and proposes carrying on the baking business in all its branches. He hopes his bread will be found superior to any yet produced in Bengal, and on the same terms as the natives. * * * * * *Calcutta*, 21*st March*, 1789."

Mr. John Marklew, Gunmaker, late Foreman to Jover and Son, Oxford Street, London, now returning home, gives notice that he "has disposed of all his tools and receipt for browning gun barrels to Mr. Peter Augier, gunmaker and cutler in Calcutta, who will carry on the same business as above, and hope to meet with the encouragement of the gentlemen of the settlement. 21*st January*, 1790."

Here is an application to the "Commissioners of the Court of Requests of the Town of Calcutta":—

'GENTLEMEN,—Understanding that the office of clerk to your Court is likely to become vacant, I beg leave, in that event, to solicit your suffrages for my succession thereto. Allow me to call to your recollection that the person who thus offers himself as a candidate, is a very old servant of the Company's, whose situation and misfortunes give him a reasonable claim to the assistance of his brother-servants, and whose qualifications from his knowledge of the country languages and his acquaintance with the manners and customs of the natives, render him, he flatters himself, equal to the discharge of the

duties of the office he solicits. (Sd.) FRANCIS GLADWIN. *Calcutta, 14th June,* 1790."

So highly was Madeira wine thought of in those days that one advertiser, in 1790, prefaces his announcement of the receipt of a new batch of this particular wine, with the following blast:—

Now drink Madeira and, in scorn of knaves,
Leave continental wines to conquered slaves.

Madeira and claret seem to have been the usual drink of the residents in addition to pale ale. Large shipments of the above wines from England and France were standing advertisements in the papers. The price of ale and porter in hogsheads was ninety sicca rupees per hogshead.

"A. Wilson, Watchmaker, in Council House Street," has for sale, several capital watches, among which "is one on a new and singular construction, horizontal, capp'd, jewelled, and stop, which goes while winding up, and by a separate hand and circle shows the three hundredth part of a minute." (1791.)

[Advt.] "A gentleman observing the great number of useless horses daily parading the roads about Calcutta, suggests it as a hint that they might be better employed in propagating their breed up the country, an idea, the advertiser doubts not, will be highly approved of by the patriotic owners of such cattle. This is, therefore, to give notice that any gentleman sending an incumbent of that nature to the *Printer* (of the *Calcutta Gazette*) and paying for this advertisement, the animal will be thankfully received and religiously applied to the proposed purpose. *28th April,* 1791."

"A neat, compact and new built garden-house," is advertised for private sale at 1,500 sicca rupees. It was "pleasantly situated at Chowringhy, and from its contiguity to Fort William peculiarly well calculated for an officer; it would," continues the advertisement, "likewise be a handsome

provision for a native lady, or a child." A peculiar feature of the times (1792.)

A "left-handed gun" is advertised, in 1793, by "Peter Augier, Cutler and Armourer, No. 51, Cossitollah. This reminds us to notice that among all the firms, which used to figure in the advertising pages of the *Gazette* of that time, none have survived even in name to the present time, except that of P. Augier, whose grandsons still carry on the old business of armourers and gunsmiths, in the same old house in Cossitollah. The building and people must have some strange mementos of the old times.*

An advertisement, dated Public Department, Fort William, 25th March, 1793, calls for "Contract proposal for erecting a factory house, godowns and offices, at Cossimbazar." The Government proposed to pull down and remove the then existing factory house, with the whole of the godowns and offices within the surrounding wall, and to construct new buildings in their stead.

In looking over the advertisements we stumbled upon the following, which is an evidence of the quaint manners of tradesmen in Calcutta of that date (1793):—"Whereas there are several persons of the name of PRICE, whose Christian name begins with a large "j"; J. PRICE, Esquire, doth therefore apply to so many that mistakes have frequently happened—I beg leave to decline the appellation of Esquire, and request of those who do not know me, but may in future have occasion to send notes, letters or parcels, which they may pretend shall come direct to me, that they direct to CAPTAIN JOSEPH PRICE, Clive Street, Calcutta."

Here is an advertisement of 1793, which will raise a smile on the countenances of our readers, and provide another illustration of the value of money in those times:—"A person suffering much by corns under his feet, will give one thousand

* This firm appears to be no longer in existence.

sicca rupees to any person capable of extracting them, to be paid upon the performance of the cure. Enquire No. 83, Zigzag Lane."

Fine Hyson teas are advertised in 1793 at 250 sicca rupees the chest; 125 the half, 64 the quarter and *nine rupees the seer.*

Doctor Liotard advertises (1793)—"Public baths, plain, mineral and aromatic," at No. 37, China Bazar.

Bhilsa, which is still famous for its preparation of the perfumed tobacco for smoking in the hooka, was, in 1793, very celebrated, and exported to Calcutta very large quantities of tobacco, much valued by European smokers, and not less so by wealthy native gentlemen. The tobacco was advertised by Messrs. Lee and Kennedy at seventy rupees per maund; and "Aliabad" tobacco at forty rupees.

The following auctioneers carried on business in Calcutta, during the year 1793:—Messrs. King, Johnson and Pierce; Mouat and Faria; Stewart and Brown; Tulloh and Co. The last named firm became the most famous, and carried on the business of auctioneers and commission agents in a very extensive way in Tank Square, for more than fifty years, when they gave place to others.

Two large dray horses (1793) brought from Europe were sold to an agent of the Nawab Vizier for six thousand rupees!

As a significant sign of the times, we extract the following advertisement from a paper of 1794:—"*Wants a Place*—To wait upon a lady, either here or on a voyage to Europe, a native woman, the daughter of an European, who speaks English, can dress and attend on a lady, and has already attended one to England. Enquire at Mr. D'Couto's, near Tiretta Bazar, for Anna D'Sylva."

There was at this period (1794) a hotel at Budge-Budge, kept by Messrs. Dennagan and Co. The house was a large

upper-roomed one, and situated immediately on the bank of the river. Here might be obtained "post chaises, buggies and saddle horses."

A person of the name of Dominick Laurency, an Italian, advertises in 1794, having brought from Europe the "Cabinet of Curcius," and the "Great Optic of Zaler," both of which "curiosities," had "attracted the admiration of the capital cities of Europe, and particularly that of London." The cabinet was composed of figures, life size, of persons in Europe and elsewhere who had made a name for themselves, and particularly of those who were living actors of the tragedies of the French Revolution, then in full vigour. The "optic glass represents the rising of the sun and the capital cities of Europe, in their natural state and size," &c., &c. Admission one *gold-mohur.*

An advertisement appears in 1794, under the signature of P. Holford, Master, Chambers in Symond's Inn, Chancery Lane, London, enquiring for information regarding a "girl Betsey," to whom three legacies (of 1,000, 400, and 200 rupees) had been left by "Thomas Downes Wilmot, formerly of the town of Calcutta, mariner."

An advertisement by the Superintendent of Prince of Wales Island appears, in 1794, offering two Spanish dollars a head for Patna sheep brought to the island; he "being desirous of increasing the plenty of stock on that island, for the accommodation of shipping, by establishing a breed of Patna sheep."

Messrs. Barber and Palmer advertise, in 1794, large mercantile transactions in the papers. The name of this firm was a household word in the days of our boyhood in the city of Calcutta. It was the Palmer of this firm who became the "Prince of Calcutta merchants," as he was styled, and earned for himself a statue* in the Calcutta Town Hall. And his

* Or rather bust. His residence in Lal Bazar subsequently became the Police Office.

palatial house of business is still standing, and was for many years the Sailors' Home in Bow Bazar. Messrs. Palmer and Co. were the first of the princely mercantile houses which thirty years after, were the wonder of the world. It was in 1833 that their over-trading and speculations in indigo, opium, &c., caused their downfall. Palmer and Co. were the first to go, and their bankruptcy was followed by Alexander and Co.; Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co., and some others, causing unheard-of ruin to widows and pensioners, who had embarked their all in these houses, depending with confidence on the security of the baits held out in large interest for money invested in these firms. The interest they regularly received, but the principal was irrecoverably gone.

Besides Messrs. Barber and Palmer, to which we have referred, there are other business names which are well remembered by old residents in Calcutta, and among them none more honored than the long standing coach-building establishment of Messrs. Steuart and Co., near St. Andrew's Church. That firm, after supplying about twenty partners with fortunes, passed into other hands and very lately only changed its name.*

A manufacturer started in 1794 a candle-making business at No. 34, Meeryjhony Gully, "or Zigzag Lane"—Mr. Clark says that he makes his candles to such perfection, that "his tallow candles mixt with wax, appear equally as good as the best wax candles made in India; and a whole candle will burn ten or eleven hours." His prices were—"wax and tallow candles, 30 Sa. Rs. per maund, tallow only 20 Sa. Rs. and wax only 75 Sa. Rs."

"Fine large Europe Cabbage Plants" are advertised for sale, in 1794, at Sa. Rupees eight per hundred—rather a heavy price we should think, even in those money-making days—to be had "at the late Captain Mackintyre's garden, a little below the Orphan

* This firm still bears its original name.

House, opposite Chandpaul Ghat." This is the first intimation we have of the existence of an orphan house in this locality.

Here is a description of a queer old German clock, which literally astonished the weak minds of the natives in 1794, who considered it a most wonderful production of the gods. "It consisted of a sea of glass, in perpetual motion so long as the clock was going; a ship at anchor; a battery on which a solitary soldier marched to and fro; a high watch tower, whose diminutive clock indicated the hour; and a little boat, with four men and one officer, whose perpetual occupation was to row to and fro between the ship and the battery, a distance which occupied them an hour either way. When the boat arrived at the battery the hour struck, the soldier presented arms, and a savage little band of music rushed out blowing defiance at the ship and the boat, to the tune of 'Blow, warder, blow'! The moment the music finished the musicians retreated precipitately backwards into the watch tower, and the boat, which pulled in a circle, was returning by rather a circuitous route to the ship; the instant it got alongside the clock tower struck the hour, but no ruffians rushed out this time, it was the ship's turn to do something wonderful; up flew a red flag with death's head and marrow-bones to the gaff, and six little bullets as big as peas, supposed to be fired from the pirate's guns, were shot by some skilful mechanism against the battery, which they all hit at the same instant, and so disappeared beneath a yawning glassy wave."

"TO BE LET ON LEASE FOR THREE YEARS.—The Herrinbarry, consisting of thirty pucka built godowns, adjoining to the north of the bazar called Tiretta's Bazar, in front of the public road leading to Chitpore, and standing on four biggahs and thirteen cottahs." (1795).

The following rather equivocal advertisement appears in a *Gazette* of the 29th October, 1795:—"A gentleman lately arrived in this settlement, anxious to evince the high sense he entertains of the public liberality, in the encouragement given

to his *Treatise on Farriery;* wishing also to make himself perfectly acquainted with all the diseases and incidents to which horses are subject in this country, begs leave to request, that gentlemen who may have horses affected with any kind of disorder whatever will apply to him; as he will deem himself happy in being enabled to render his study in this line of any service to the public in general, and to do justice to the noblest of the quadrupeds. A line addressed to C. D. L. and left with the Printer, will be immediately forwarded to him."

"STOLEN.—This day, a metal watch, in a green shagreen case, winds up on the outside, with a metal cap or plate that turns round to cover the key-hole. On the dial plate it tells the day of the month—a gold chain, two gold seals and a gold key; the chain has long oval links, each link joining by two small rings. One seal, a red cornelian engraving, a Newton's head, the other a white cornelian pump or spring seal, with R. D. in a cypher on one side. If offered for sale, stop it, and the parties; and a reward of five gold mohurs shall be paid by applying to Captain A. Binny, Theatre Street, Calcutta. 22nd December, 1795."

The magnificence of the buildings of those days, even of private individuals and at remote up-country stations, may be inferred from the following description of a house, "lately erected by Mr. Driver, at Berhampore," and brought to the hammer in Calcutta, on the 28th October, 1795:—"The house is raised three feet from the level of the country, and is perfectly dry; it consists of a very handsome hall, *eighty by twenty* feet, divided by columns; four very excellent bed rooms; one enclosed and one open verandah, twenty feet by *eighteen*. There is also a complete set of offices, with double coach-house and stables for six horses."

Doctor Dinwiddie advertises, in 1795, that he will give a course of lectures on Natural Philosophy and Chemistry—to commence on the 21st of April. "The course to consist of from 25 to 30 lectures. Subscription ten gold-mohurs."

"LADIES' HAIR DRESSER.—Charles Bennett respectfully informs the ladies of the settlement who may please to honor him with their commands, that he *dresses hair* in the newest taste. No. 12, Mangoe Lane, Cossitollah Street."

Vitriolic acid, "manufactured in the neighbourhood of Calcutta," is offered for sale at 2 sicca rupees per ℔. (1795.)

Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise for sale on commission,—"Beautiful black bear skin tippets at Sa. Rs. 80 each; ditto white rabbit ditto at Sa. Rs. 48; genuine otto of roses from Persia, at the moderate price of sicca rupees twenty-five per sicca weight."

The *Gazette* of the 16th July, 1795, has the following characteristic advertisement of a man who wishes to become an Indigo broker:—"Much inconvenience having occurred to gentlemen of the Company's ships, and others trading to England in the article of indigo, from the want of a person to act the part of a broker in the valuation of the commodity, Mr. Joseph Stephens (by the advice of his friends) begs leave to make a tender of his services in such capacity; trusting his long experience in that trade, as a manufacturer in this country, and the regular information with which he is furnished by his correspondents in England, will render him competent to such an undertaking.

"Mr. Joseph Stephens proposes to act as sworn broker in the purchase and sale; as also to value the indigos of this country, between the buyer and seller; to assort and repack the same, when necessary, on the following terms:—Buying or selling or appraising one per cent. if the amount does not exceed 50,000 Rs.; if above that sum one and-a-half per cent. Sorting and repacking one rupee per maund."

Messrs. Ord and Knox, tradesmen of Calcutta, find out something which they believe will be to their advantage *vide* their advertisement, dated 2nd September, 1795:—"MADEIRA WINE.—Ord and Knox having had experience of the great effect

which the hot winds in the upper parts of the country have in ripening and mellowing madeira with less loss of both body and flavor, than arises in the usual way from long keeping, propose sending to Cawnpore twenty-five pipes of the first growth London Particular Wine, to reap the benefit of season 1796. By this and the voyage up and down, the wine will become riper than by some years keeping in Calcutta. They engage to deliver the wine, on its return to Calcutta to subscribers only, filled up and free of every charge and risk, at sicca rupees 675 per pipe."

"COAST CLOTHS.—For sale, just imported, direct from the loom, a few pieces very fine longcloths, from 56 to 110 sicca rupees per piece. Apply to Mr. R. Abbott." 1795.

The Government prohibit the import of saltpetre:—"Public notice is hereby given that the Governor-General in Council has thought proper to determine, that the importation of saltpetre into the provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, shall be prohibited from this date, E. HAY, *Secretary to the Government*: Fort William, May 15, 1795."

In the following advertisement we see the birth of the "Union Insurance Company," which existed for many years in Calcutta, and perhaps may still exist;—"Notice is hereby given, that a new insurance office will be established on the 1st day of June, 1795, for the purpose of insuring ships, merchandize, or goods, to all parts of the world, against all risks or dangers of the seas, &c., under the name of the UNION INSURANCE COMPANY, Mr. Thomas Gowan to officiate as Secretary; and Captain John Canning as Inspector of Ships."

"Chittagong canvas fresh from the looms," is advertised for sale in 1795 at the godowns of Messrs. Colvin and Bazett—Price per single bolt Sa. Rs. 19; per corge Rs. 300.

Messrs. Dring, Cleland and Co., on June 4th, 1795, advertise "for sicca rupees and ready money," the following wines and

liquors, and the prices at which they are offered will show what were the prevalent rates of the day on these articles :—

Choice Picked London Particular Madeira wine, 10 years old, at per pipe ...	Rs.	800	0	0
Ditto London Market ditto	,,	550	0	0
The above wines, in bottle at per doz. ...	,,	25	0	0
Claret, from Brown and Whitford, do. ...	,,	32	0	0
French Claret, very superior quality, p. doz.	,,	25	0	0
Old Hock, from the first houses, do.	,,	35	0	0
Old Red Port do.	,,	16	0	0
Fine Old Sherry do.	,,	14	0	0
Cognac Brandy, first quality, per gallon, ...	,,	3	8	0
Ditto in bottles per doz. ...	,,	24	0	0
Old Jamaica Rum, per doz.	,,	16	0	0
Raspberry and Cherry Brandy, pints, p. doz.	,,	18	0	0
Ratafia, in cases of 12 pints, per case ...	,,	20	0	0
Real Hollands Gin in 15 bottle cases, do.	,,	20	0	0
Burton Ale, per doz.	,,	10	0	0
Dorchester Beer, do.	,,	10	0	0
Country bottled Ale, per doz.	,,	7	0	0
Ditto Porter, do.	,,	6	0	0
Pale Ale and Small Beer, in butts ...	,,	140	0	0
Ditto ditto in hogsheads ...	,,	70	0	0
Mild Porter do. ...	,,	60	0	0

The price of glassware, in 1795, may be judged from the following:—"COLOURED GLASS—A few pair of transparent green and purple hanging lamps, with smoke shades, and rich lacquered furniture, may be had at the following prices, at the warehouse of Davidson and Chalmers:—1st size, per, pair 120 Rs.; 2nd size, per pair, 100 Rs.; 3rd size, per pair 80 Rs."

"A convenient upper-roomed house, No. 5, Court House Lane," is offered for sale, in 1795, and one of its recommendations is, that it is "free from dust and noise"—happy tenants of such a house, in a lane too, which "leads to Rada Bazar." The

said house had besides "a small garden." When one now views that lane and that neighbourhood, he cannot but wonder where such a garden could have existed, for all the houses therein seem of about the same age, and all for the same kind of structure.

For the first time we see an advertisement, on the 25th June, 1795, announcing the sale of an article for which Calcutta has always been famous:—"Pickled Mango Fish Roe, at four rupees per bottle, to be had of Mr. F. Jacobi, Chunam Gully."

"Two very elegant Mehannah Palanquins," says the *Gazette* of the 20th August, 1795, "are just finished by Mr. Steuart, who has shown great skill in the design and execution of them; thay are commissioned by the Rajah of Tanjore, and from this specimen of European art, we may expect other natives of rank will be induced to give similar orders." A spectator at the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, in 1876, saw hundreds of instances where the equipages of native princes had been constructed entirely by European coachbuilders; and many conveyances were quite according to English style, with the crests of their royal masters on the door panels.

The Honorable F. Fitzroy is in trouble (1795):—"Lord Southampton having sent several things to him last year, which he has not received, and some guns this season, Mr. F. expects that any gentleman having charge of the kind for him, will be so good as to send them to his agents." And then, perhaps guessing the cause of such articles not reaching their destination, the honorable gentleman adds—"where (at the agents) Mr. F. will leave directions, for paying any demands the gentlemen may have for the trouble and care of bringing the things out to India."

Who in the present day hears of a *gout chair?* That uncomfortable ailment exists to as great extent as it did in days gone by, but no one ever thinks of having a peculiarly constructed chair wherein the patient may recline and obtain

ease from pain. So thought not our grandfathers, for W. Myers advertises in 1795, among other articles of furniture, "two mahogany Merlin's gout chairs, covered with leather, and stuffed with hair, very complete."

Rather a strange "gift to a woman"—*vide* undernoted advertisement:—"To be let or sold by private sale—a lower roomed house, situated immediately facing Mr. Derozio's house on the Boytaconah Road, consisting of two rooms and a large hall, with cook-room, bottlekonah and other necessary offices. There are *Bootick* shops belonging to the premises, to be sold with the house, which are let to good and constant tenants; which shops alone bring in sufficient interest: the premises would be a desirable gift to a woman, and a permanent living. For further particulars enquire on the premises, or of Mr. John Athanass, in the Bow Bazar."

A gentleman of the name of Soubise advertises, in 1795, having opened a "Repository" for gentlemen's horses; the said repository, or in other words, *stables*, were "situated to the north of, and nearly behind Sherburne's Bazar, leading from the Cossitollah down Emambarry Lane; and from the Durrumtollah by the lane to the west of Sherburne's Bazar." Was this the original designation of what became the "Chandney Chowk Bazar?"

Ruins of Gour.—Mr. Baillie proposes to publish, in 1795, by subscription, a set of six views of the "principal ruins of the ancient city of Gour, formerly the capital of Bengal." Subscription 40 sicca rupees for the set.

A humorous advertisement appears in the *Gazette*, in 1796, under the signature of a wax and tallow chandler, of the name of Shadrach Clark, carrying on business at No. 27, Cossitolah Street. This person "thinks it highly necessary to take notice of and hint to the public, that there are one or two in town who have set up for wax and tallow chandlers, but who have never been regularly brought up to the business, and only got a little

insight into it by frequenting his house under the cloak of friendship. They sell under him on purpose to get customers, in which they might have succeeded by their intrigues with the sircars; but their want of a thorough knowledge in the art of manufacturing candles, joined to their ignorance of the ingredients necessary for preserving tallow in this climate, and making them burn clear and last long, have brought discredit on the trade, that injustice is due only to such pretenders. S. C. will vouch for his candles, even when green, or quite new, to burn six hours; when about a month old, eight hours (which is as long as any wax candle will burn); and when about two months old and more, they will burn full ten hours. These are tallow mixed with wax, as white as spermaceti candles at 30 rupees a maund. One great impediment also, he thinks, to the universal sale and use of his candles has been the bearers, whose business it is in most families to clean and keep in order the candlesticks, to light and snuff them, but whose caste will not permit them to handle or touch tallow; but if the gentry are so far prejudiced in their favor as not to disoblige them in that respect, why might it not be made the entire business of their khitmutgars?"

[Advt.] "P. Meurisee and N. Larcher most respectfully beg leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen, and the public in general, who have hitherto been pleased to favor them with their commands, that in future, they will kill on Mondays and Saturdays a good fat bullock, and a well fed china pork on every second day of the week." (1797.)

A Panorama of London is advertised to be exhibited in Tank Square in 1797. Tickets of admission eight rupees.

[Advt.] "Some disagreeable circumstances too painful to relate, having imposed on Mr. Tiretta the melancholy necessity of removing the remains of his beloved wife, the late Mrs. Tiretta, from the Portuguese burying ground to a cemetery of his own, near the English burying ground, he begs leave to inform

the public, that all Roman Catholic Europeans, or their immediate descendants, dying in this settlement, and preferring this cemetery, may have their remains deposited there, free of all charges, on application to the Reverend Vicar of the Portuguese Church in Calcutta; by which they will not only avoid the sorrowful predicament in which he was placed, but enjoy the comfortable assurance, that their remains *shall rest in peace*! —Calcutta, March 18, 1798."

[Advt.] "P. Merle begs leave to inform his friends and the gentlemen of the settlement that during the cold season he purposes renewing his annual practice of curing horses of all ages at Sa. Rs. 100 each. No cure no pay. P. M. begs leave to observe, that his mode of operation is universally allowed by all gentlemen who had been witnesses thereto, to be the safest and most effectual of any ever practised, without risque of life as well as expeditious in its cure, and which it is hoped will give a decided preference in his favor, to any other in the line, who pretend to undertake the operation without possessing the least knowledge, which ultimately is productive of fatal consequences, independent of the loss of time in effecting the cure, which, with them, is often three months or more, when by his mode, seldom exceeds a fortnight."

[Advt.] "AN ENSIGNCY to be sold for sixty pounds sterling less than the King's regulated price, in an old regiment, which has been only two years and-a-half in India. Enquire of Messrs. Gardiner, Moscrop and Alexander. July 18, 1799." From the above it would appear, an anticipated *long residence* in India was considered by the military as a desideratum.

An advertisement appears, on the 14th November 1799, of "Wild beasts for sale at Mr. W. Smith's, No. 230, Lall Bazar, opposite Mr. H. Swinhoe's, the Attorney—A royal tiger, and a dog, his familiar and constant companion. Two royal tiger cubs male and female, four months old, in the same cage. A beautiful leopard, about five months old. N. B.—Any person viewing

them for curiosity sake only, will not be offended if half a rupee should be expected by the black keeper."

Messrs. Tulloh and Co., auctioneers, who had now been established in Calcutta for about three years, advertised the sale for the 18th April, 1799, of the Durrumtollah Bazar, or, as it was then termed—"Bazar at Chowringhee." The ground on which the bazar then stood measured about nine beegahs, on which there were 207 pucka built rooms or shops, 143 arched ditto, and 36 large cutcha godowns, yielding a gross monthly rent of Sa. Rs. 1,043. The bazar was "bounded by General Stibbert's house on the east, by the Durrumtollah road to the north, by the Chowringhee road to the west, and by the Jaun Bazar to the south."

It may be interesting to know what were the rates for hire of conveyances and cattle in the year 1800. An advertisement of Mr. Dexter, a stablekeeper in Calcutta, gives us this information :—

		Per day.	Per month.
A coach and four ...	... Rs.	24	300
A post chaise and pair	... ,,	16	200
A pair of horses ...	... ,,	10	130
Buggy and horse ...	... ,,	5	100

These rates were low, in comparison with what they were forty years afterwards.

By a notice in the papers we learn that the Calcutta Circulating Library was necessitated to close its doors to the public on the 30th September, 1800.

We observe that Livery Stables were started in 1801 by one Malachi Lyons, in a lane leading from the Wellington Square; these stables continued to bear Mr. Lyons' name for full forty years, though they passed into other hands.

The name of the firm of Raitt, Inglis and Company appears in the Gazettes of 1800 and some previous years, as having an

extensive "Chunam business" at Sylhet. This firm continued such business for many years, changing the designation of the firm occasionally as partners retired with "money in both pockets," and Inglis was the last of the old partnership. He, too, made a handsome fortune out of the lime and orange business; we believe the old business is still continued at Sylhet.

There appear to have been greater distinctions in the malt liquors then imported from England, than there are at the present day. In an advertisement of Messrs. Davidson and Wilson on the 24th September, 1801, we have the following kinds of beer named:—"1, pale ale; 2, strong ale; 3, small beer; 4, brilliant beer; 5, strong porter; 6, light porter; 7, brown stout."

Bengal rum is advertised for sale at the Howrah Distillery, from *twelve annas* to *one rupee* per gallon. Either the manufacture cost much less than it does now, or the stuff must have been worse than country liquor.

[Advt.] "ELOPEMENT.—Notice is hereby given to the public, that my wife, named Harrapseemee Sherrin, daughter of Johanies Mullukset, Armenian, of Chinsurah, have eloped from my house, at Serampore, on the 4th December last, 1800, without any just cause or reason; therefore this is to caution that I shall not be responsible for any debt or debts she may contract from whomsoever. (Sd.) SHERRIF ABRAHAM, *Greek*. Serampore, February 9, 1801."

In a communication addressed by Dr. John Fleming, first member of the Medical Board, to the Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General, in 1802, we are informed that Calcutta was placed in possession of the benefits bestowed on mankind by Dr. Jenner's celebrated discovery of small-pox inoculation. A superintendent was appointed to further the benefits of Doctor Jenner's discovery throughout the provinces; and opportunities taken to instruct the Hindoo and Mahomedan physicians in the proper mode of performing the operation.

[Advt.] "For Sale—a second-hand post chaise, with a perch; to save trouble; price, 450 sicca rupees. A handsome chair palankeen, very little used, ditto 220."

Messrs. Gammidge and Saunders set up a tavern and a farm at Fultah on the 2nd August, 1802. And there was in 1803, a hotel at Fultah called Garmage's Hotel, a building said to be "by no means disgraceful to the most improved style of modern architecture. A number of captains and travellers of consequence land here, taking their departure overland to their various destinations in India."

[Advt.] "A European wants an employ in the indigo business. Understands all the professors of the manufactory. Apply to Mr. John Morris, Mangoe Lane, Calcutta, 1803."

A most extensive collection of natural curiosities, chiefly consisting of rare insects, collected by the late Baron Von Doldorff, a captain in His Danish Majesty's Service, is advertised for sale on the 5th January, 1805. This collection was the result of upwards of sixteen years' labor, not only in Bengal, the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, but also of the Malay Peninsula of Sumatra, and most of the other islands to the eastward.

Among other articles advertised for sale at auction by Mr. Duncan, "is a large Newfoundland dog, cost *eight hundred rupees.*"

An advertisement appears, from "a gentleman in search of employment":—"If any single or family gentleman wishes to have a clerk, who understands several accounts, writes and reads English, French, Portuguese, and can translate; he likewise reads Latin, and speaks good Moor and Bengal languages; he is willing to be employed in the settlement, or go up the country or to either the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, if a suitable salary be allowed him."

[Advt.] "Malver, hair dresser from Europe, proposes himself to the ladies of the settlement to dress hair daily, at two

gold-mohurs per month, in the latest fashion, with gauze, flowers, &c. He will also instruct the slaves at a moderate price. Please to enquire at Mr. Bernard's, behind the Harmonic Tavern."

Russapuglah seems to have been rather a fashionable part of the City of Palaces in the earlier days. A mansion, known by the name of *Frescatti*, was advertised for sale on the 1st October, 1803. This house was "situated in the pleasantest part of Russapuglah, about two miles from Chowringhee, on a covetable and selected spot." An elegant octagon on a lofty mount, constitutes a part of the great acquisitions annexed to the estate: it commands in the foreground a beautiful and extensive view of the country seat of G. Dowdeswell, Esq., and other adjacent gardens, and in the prospective the most luxuriant and picturesque scenery."

[Advt.] JOHN REQUIEM, an ancient French Captain of a ship, being lately Professor of Hydrography at the Isle of France, passed to this town by the Prevost de Langristain, Captain Muterne, where he is settled with his family, informs the public that he and his son will teach youth to read, write, and speak the English and French languages by the best principles; likewise the arithmetical, geometrical and astronomical sciences, relating to the art of navigation, or the leading of a ship through the known world. Those who may please to trust the instruction of their children to their charge, may expect every satisfaction. Direct to them at No. 143, near China Bazar. They will give undoubted proofs of their abilities, probity, and behaviour, by papers delivered unto them from the best authorities of their nation. They have an instrument, newly discovered by a French gentleman, where any one may observe the longitude at sea without any calcule. If there are any curious people who desire to see the said instrument, they may call at their house, where they will, with the utmost pleasure, show and explain to them the method to make use of it."

"Lent or lost some years since!" So runs the heading of an advertisement—"The first volume of Pope's works, published by Millar, in octavo, in 1760. The owner's name is pasted on the inside of the cover, and the crest is a dove with extended wings. If the book is in the possession of any gentleman, it is requested that he will be good enough to return it; and should it be with any person to whom a reward will be acceptable, a proper compliment will be made on giving or sending it to the printer, as a valuable edition is rendered useless from the want of it."

[Advt.] "Stays.—Ladies' stays, for the warm season, made by Stephen Quick, No. 161, Cossitollah. They are perfectly cool, being both outside and lining of fine Irish linen, and upon so easy a construction that a servant may with ease shift the bones from one pair to another in a few minutes, so that a lady, having three or four pairs, may shift her stays as often as her linen. N. B.—Price one gold-mohur each pair."

"An European" advertises as wanting employment—a perfect jack of all trades:—"WANTS EMPLOY.—An European, upwards of twenty years in India, in the capacity of steward and hair dresser, who understands watchmaking, can tune pianofortes. A line directed to Mr. J. Diehle, at Calcapore, will be duly attended to."

[Advt.] "John Lewis, Exchange Coffee House, respectfully informs the gentlemen of the Calcutta Militia, that public breakfast will be provided every parade morning in the Exchange Hall, at one rupee eight annas a head—Ready money."

Mr. Pyefinch, Farmer of Tolley's Nullah, proposes "to supply families with firewood and charcoal at 12 sicca rupees per 100 maunds of the former, and twelve baskets per sicca rupee of the latter, and deliver them at the door."

"William Doughty (1807) begs leave to inform his friends and the gentlemen arriving at this settlement, that he has taken

that well situated and most extensive house belonging to the estate of General Martine, opposite to the College, and the south-west corner of Tank Square, where he has spared no expense in fitting it up for the reception of families and gentlemen arriving from Europe, the upper stations, &c. W. D. begs leave to observe that his house in future will be conducted under the title of the Crown and Anchor Hotel and British Chop House."

Messrs. Stewart & Co. advertise as "Wanted for hire,—a clever boat, upon the new principle, for the particular purpose of crossing the great river, from Chandpal Ghaut to Seebpore. March 18, 1807."

An appeal was put forward for the relief of the sufferers from the famine in the Madras Presidency, in January 1807, when the "merchant princes of India," as the Calcutta firms were then styled, subscribed most liberally; one thousand rupees was put down by each, besides what individual partners of the firms gave. Those were days when money was made easily, and spent liberally.

"Essence for the Hookah!" such is the attractive heading of an advertisement put forth by Mr. H. McKay in the Gazette of the 3rd March, 1808. He "respectfully begs leave to acquaint the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement that are partial to the hookah, that he has prepared some essence, whose fragrant odour and fine flavour will add considerable zest to this luxury." The natives had for ages used fragrant essences with the tobacco that they smoked in their hookahs; Mr. McKay's must have been something of the same kind.

"Belvidere House" is advertised by Tulloh and Co., as for sale by auction on the 18th May, 1809. The house is described as a "superb mansion, lately occupied by the Commander-in-Chief at the monthly rent of sicca rupees 450." The size of the mansion is given—it consisted of two halls, one measuring 46 by 29½ feet, and the other 30½ by 29½ feet; a bed room 30½ by

29½ feet; a middle room 17½ by 17 feet; another room 17 by 17 feet; a card or drawing room 36 by 23 feet; also an elegant marble cold bath and a hot bath. The above suits of apartments were on the west side of the house; exactly similar suits of rooms were on the east side of the house. Colonnaded verandahs were on the north and south sides. There was a superb park of seventy-two beegahs of ground in extent which surrounded the mansion. This house originally belonged to Colonel Tolley, and was sold on account of his estate in 1802.

A sheriff's sale is announced for the 24th of March, of "the remainder of a term of a certain lease from Anna Maria Tolley to John Hooper Wilkinson of a certain creek or nullah, commonly called or known by the name of Tolley's nullah or canal."

Mr. Maillerdet informs the public that "the automatons, so justly admired in Europe, are now exhibited from the hours of 11 to 4 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at a house on the left-hand side of Mr. John Hannah's Gully. Admission 4 rupees."

Bottles seem to have been rather scarce in Calcutta in 1807, for Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise that they will pay five sicca rupees *per dozen* for empty English bottles, and four for French ones.

"Fresh Oysters" are advertised for sale "at John Morris", Cossitollah Street, at three rupees per dozen. July 1808."

In a newspaper of 1st September, 1808, we find an announcement of "Alexander Watts, boot, shoe and harness maker," having set up at No. 33, Cossitollah. This firm still exists.

Messrs. Burgh and Nosky dissolve partnership and Mr. E. Nosky carries on the business of chemist and druggist at No. 186, Lal Bazar, from the 31st May, 1809.

Mr. William Hollings advertises—"A. Damson's claret at per dozen Sa. Rs. 50; Do. port wine Sa. Rs. 25; Do. champagne still Sa. Rs. 90; Do. do sparkling Sa. Rs. 110."

All private sales of the Company's Europe imports were ordered to be discontinued from the 13th June, 1810.

Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise "Old Hock, of superior quality, from Divie, Robertson and Harper, at 80 sicca rupees per dozen; fine cyder, in boxes of one dozen each, packed in earth, at 24 sicca rupees per dozen."

P. Lindeman and Co. set up as undertakers and cabinet makers in the early part of 1808, and their firm, though in younger hands of the family, still exists in Calcutta.* The founder of the business died at an advanced age in Calcutta.

As an illustration of the despotic rule of the Company, the following advertisement will show:—"In consequence of the disapprobation expressed by the Honorable the Court of Directors, to the establishment of the Canton Insurance Company, the committee for the society have directed us to notify to the public, its abolition from the 31st August last. *Trail, Palmer* and Co., *Agents*. Calcutta, 28th September, 1808."

On the 3rd November, 1808, R. Hamilton advertises that "he has fitted up the house No. 5, Tank Square, corner of Council House Street, for carrying on the various branches of his business, as Jewellers, &c." This is another of the old firms which have been able to continue flourishing up to the present date.

Robertson's *claret* seems to have commanded higher prices in the Calcutta market than their port. The claret is advertised at *thirty-eight* sicca rupees per dozen, while port was priced at sixteen only.

Messrs. Tulloh and Co. advertise for sale a Manton's double-barrelled fowling-piece. Price, Sa. Rs. 650? (1812.)

Soda water seems to have been introduced into Calcutta in 1812. Up to that period it would appear that soda powders were in general use. Tulloh and Co., in an advertisement in the

* This firm has since ceased to exist.

Gazette of the 19th March, 1812, state that "they have received for sale a small quantity of this pleasant drink and valuable remedy for indigestion, which they beg leave to assure their customers, is as highly charged with fixed air as that manufactured in London is, when recently made." "It may not be unnecessary," they continue, "to inform the public, that soda water is prepared by super-saturating a solution of soda with carbonic acid gas, and that its place cannot be at all supplied by what is sold as soda powders, which are merely a mixture of salts that effervesce on being dissolved. Every one acquainted with the principles of chemistry knows, that it is impossible to reduce to a solid form a salt, which only exists in solution under a great pressure." This strange caution is added to the advertisement: —"Care must be taken to keep the bottles on their sides—if this is not attended to, the fixed air will escape in a few days." And for this valuable water the sum of *fourteen rupees* per dozen was charged; and two rupees only allowed for the returned bottles. Well may the community of the present day congratulate themselves that this beverage, so necessary on the plains, can be obtained at the low rate that now rules.

Tulloh and Co. advertise in 1812—Madeira wine London Particular, 16 years old, Rs. 1,600 per pipe, or 40 Rs. a dozen.

Do.	10	do.	Rs. 1,000	do.	or 32	do.
	7	do.	Rs. 800	do.	or 28	do.

American salmon as an article of commerce, seems to have been first imported into Calcutta in September 1815. Mr. Sheppard, of No. 87, Bow Bazar, advertises the fish for sale at *ten* rupees for a whole, or five for a half fish, and twenty-five rupees for a keg.

Hodgson's Pale Ale and Porter are advertised, in 1816, at 12 rupees a dozen quarts, and 8 rupees for pints.

Messrs. Gould and Campbell advertised in June 1812, the sale of "such bills and vouchers given to the late firm of Briant and Company, by gentlemen, civil and military, &c., as may not,

up to the time of sale, be taken up by the respective parties, who are hereby solicited to adjust these demands against them."

"Real Manilla cigars, or cheroots," are advertised (in 1822) as a "sovereign remedy against fevers and damps," (!) by a firm at No. 201, Old China Bazar, near the Armenian Church, at one rupee per bundle.

"Fresh Pine Cheese, per *Henry Porcher*, just landed, may be had at Messrs. Gould and Campbell's at Rs. 3-8 per ℔." Such is the announcement by these auctioneers on the 23rd March, 1820. We give it, to show the extravagant price commanded by this description of cheese in the market, and also to allude to an anecdote related to us by a very old resident—a gentleman who showed us a veritable hobby horse, standing in a side room, which he used to ride in 1807 on the Circular Road, previous to the interdict of such vehicles by the Government. There happened to be a famine of pine cheeses in Calcutta, not one was to be found in any store. A gouty old man was pining for his favorite cheese; he sent out his personal domestic, who administered to his mind and his leg, in search of a pine cheese. The domestic went to every miscellaneous store—no cheese of this description could be got, and cheeses of any other kind were not wanted. The domestic returned in despair to his master with a statement of the failure of his mission. A missile at his head was the reward from his exasperated master. He was sent out again, told to visit every store, and even every ship in harbour. This time in some neglected and forgotten cupboard or corner of Messrs. Tulloh and Co's, a solitary pine cheese was discovered and carried home in triumph to his master, who rewarded his domestic with rapturous applause. With the precious treasure clutched in both hands, the gouty old gentleman was carried to his bed room, there to revel in the feel and the taste of the celebrated pine cheese. How highly must that description of cheese have been valued then; in the present day it is considered a rarity, but in a different sense, for

the Gloster, Berkely and Cheddar have monopolised the market and driven the Pine entirely into neglect.

Some of the ruling prices of articles may be here quoted. In 1821, Red sparkling champagne sold at 45 Rs. a dozen; White do at 40; Still do at 35; Sauterne at 18; Port wine at 25; Gin at 15; Hodgson's Pale Ale at 11; Brandy at 16; Cheese at 3 Rs. a ℔.; Hams at 2; Tart fruits at 3 Rs. a bottle; Oysters pickled at 8 a bottle; Mustard at 4; Pickles at 30 Rs. a case; Sauces at 2 Rs. a bottle; Spirits of wine at 4 Rs. a quart; Tea at Rs. 150 a chest; Sugar candy at 22 Rs. a tub; best wax candles at 80 Rs. a maund.

The Honorable Company become wine merchants:—"*Import Warehouse, 1st November, 1821*—The Board of Trade have, with the sanction of Government, been pleased to nominate the following officers to be agents for the sale of the Honorable Company's wines at the undermentioned stations: Lieutenant-Colonel C. Brown, at Futtyghur; Captain T. Lamb, Berhampore; Doctor T. Turnbull, Mirzapore; and Doctor J. Browne, Bareilly."

We see among the advertisements in the *Government Gazette* for 1829, one of *Chinsurah* cigars. That station was long celebrated for the manufacture of cigars.

An exhibition appended for the first time in Calcutta (1824) of the Theatre Mecanique. This ingenious display of picturesque scenery with moving figures was highly appreciated by the public. The price of tickets was 8 Rs. each for first seats, and 4 for second seats. A similar exhibition took place in Calcutta in 1834, but it was not sufficiently patronized by the public.

Notwithstanding that living in Calcutta was considered high in earlier times, our neighbours, the French at Chandernagore, had obtained some talisman to enable them not only to live cheaply themselves, but to feed others domiciled with them

at a more moderate figure than could be done in Calcutta. A party advertises in the *Government Gazette* of the 5th September, 1816, that he will board and mess a single gentleman or single lady (exclusive of wines or liquors) for 35 rupees a month; a married gentleman or a married lady, 45 rupees a month. Why the difference? Are married people more exacting in their demands—rather the contrary we should think.

In the *Government Gazette* of the 27th March, 1823, we find in glaringly large letters an advertisement to the following effect:—"*Mermaid, and Sea Monster's Head*—Just brought round on the ship *Indian Oak*, the first that have ever been seen in India. These natural curiosities were found on the beach at Olraga by some fishermen and brought to the Emperor's Court at Jeddo, the capital of Japan, and there purchased by the Dutch supercargo of the annual ship from Batavia, from whom the present proprietor obtained them: the greatest care has been taken of them, and the *Mermaid* in particular is in the most perfect state, and well worthy the notice of the public. * * * Terms of admission for each person—Sa. Rs. six cash."

CHAPTER XII.

COMMERCIAL.

The earlier voyages of the East India Company are distinguished as the "separate voyages" and the "joint stock voyages." Stimulated by the discoveries of the Spaniards and the Portuguese, the English began as early as the reign of Henry VII, to endeavour to participate in the trade of India. They first attempted to reach India by the North-west and North-east passages. They took this roundabout way to the East in order to avoid the Portuguese. But on the Dutch, in 1595, boldly sending out their four ships under Houtman to the East direct by the Cape of Good Hope, the fuel of jealousy was added to the commercial ardour of the English to secure their share in the wealth of "Ormuz and of Ind," and the London East India Company was at once projected. In the first flame of avaricious rivalry the list of subscribers to the adventure was readily filled up, but the calls of the committee for payment of the instalments were imperfectly obeyed, and the Company, therefore, to avoid all risk to themselves, instead of trading to India in their earlier voyages, on the terms of a joint stock, arranged that the subscribers should individually bear the expense of each voyage, and reap the whole profits. It was thus that the first so called "separate voyages" were undertaken. These were all highly prosperous, the clear profits hardly ever being below 100 per cent., an in general reaching 200 per cent. on each voyage.

When the Portuguese at last rounding the Cape of Good Hope, burst into the Indian Ocean like a pack of hungry wolves on a sheep-walk, they found a peaceful and prosperous commerce being carried on along all its shores, which had been

elaborated during three thousand years by the Phœnicians and Arabs. The great store cities of this trade were then at Calicut, Ormuz, Aden, and Malacca. Here were collected the cloves, nutmegs, mace, and ebony of the Moluccas, the sandal-wood of Timor, the costly camphor of Borneo, the benzoin of Sumatra and Java, the aloes of Cochin China, the perfumes, gums, spices, silks, and innumerable curiosities of China, Japan, and Siam, the rubies of Pegu, the fine fabrics of Coromandel, the richer stuffs of Bengal, the spikenard of Nepaul and Bhutan, the diamonds of Golconda, the Damascus steel of Nirmul, the pearls, sapphires, topazes and cinnamon of Ceylon, the pepper, ginger, and satin-wood of Malabar, the lac, agates, and sumptuous brocades and jewellery of Cambay, the costos and graven vessels, wrought arms, and broidered shawls of Cashmere, the bdellium of Scinde, the musk of Tibet, the galbanum of Khorassan, the assafœtida of Afghanistan and the ambergris, civet and ivory exported from Zanzibar.

The old records of the India house throw much curious light on the articles of trade and early commercial dealings of the Company. We come across the mention of "cambogium" (gamboge,) "ambergreece," "assafœtida," "aggats," and other products, many of which previously unknown in the markets of those days. In 1668 we find it recorded that an order was sent for the importation for the use of the Company, of one hundred pounds weight of the best "tey" procurable, and in a volume of 1671 "thea" is mentioned among goods remaining on hand, from which it may be inferred that the new drink had not at that time made much way.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1784 the following notice occurs of the Indian trade :—" There is no branch of European commerce, that has made so rapid a progress as that to the East Indies. The whole number of ships sent to Asia by all the maritime powers of Europe, at the beginning of the present century, did not amount to fifty sail, of which England sent

fourteen, France five, Holland eleven, the Venetians and Genoese together nine, Spain three, and all the rest of Europe only six; neither the Russians nor Imperialists at that period sent any. In the year 1744 the English increased the number of their ships to twenty-seven; the Venetians and Genoese sent only four, and the rest of Europe about nine. At this period three hundred sail of European ships belonging to the several powers are employed in the East India traffic, of which England alone sends sixty-eight, being the whole of the East India Company's shipping. The French last year employed nine, the Portuguese eighteen, the Russians and Spaniards make up the remainder. But neither the Venetians nor Genoese now send a single ship to India."

The price of rice was in 1752, "for good November bund rice, 35 seers per rupee; ordinary rice one maund and ten seers per ditto"; and this was considered *high*; for coolies' wages were raised to "two pun twelve gundas of couries per day, on account of the scarcity and dearness of rice and other provisions."

Mr. Barnet, at Benares, advertises (24th March, 1785,) to "grant bills on London, with a collateral security in rough diamonds, at 2*s*. 3*d*. the current rupee."

An extract from a report from the *Roy Royan*, on the subject of Hindoo and Musulman holidays for the Bengal year 1194, is published officially in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 3rd May 1787, from which we learn that the number of "Hindoo holidays and festivals on which the attendance of the officers *must* be necessarily dispensed with" were twenty-nine days; and "the holidays on which it will be necessary that *those who keep them* should obtain leave of absence," were in number thirty days, making a total of compulsory Hindoo holidays, fifty-nine days. The "Musulman holidays on which the officers of this persuasion *must* have leave of absence," numbered

thirteen days. Thus the total number of holidays observed at the Government offices was seventy-two days in the year.

Mr. Lyon Prager is permitted to "proceed to Benares, and reside there for the purpose of trading in pearls, diamonds, diamond boart, and other precious stones, in order to afford to individuals means of remitting their property to Europe, and to secure to the Company their accustomed duties." In an order dated Fort William, 4th October, 1716, Mr. Prager is thus allowed the monopoly of such trade.

The nett revenue expected to be realized by Government on salt for the year 1789 was computed at seventy lakhs of rupees. The tax on salt in England produced on an average £200,000, or about a fourth of the amount realized in this country.

On the 22nd January, 1789, the editor of the *Calcutta Gazette* states his regret that "the price of grain in Calcutta is getting high again;" and gives us the prevailing prices, which our readers would be glad were ruling again in India:—"Rice is now selling," says he, at the following prices: Moorshedabad rice 27 seers per rupee; Patna ditto 27; Dinagepoor ditto 28; Hooghly and Hijlee, 1st sort 20, and 2nd sort 25; Beerbhoom and Burdwan 2nd sort 22 seers per rupee."

The Import Warehouse keeper advertises the sale of "fine cinnamon, the produce of the Island of Ceylon, of prime quality, and in high preservation, at the rate of five sicca rupees per seer."

A representation having been laid before the Governor-General in Council, by the opium contractors, on the subject of the preservation of their privileges, notice was given, in an order, dated 19th February, 1790, that "all British subjects, who shall be detected in acting contrary to the regulations of Government, limiting the provision and manufacture of opium to the public contractors, shall upon proof of the offence, forfeit the Hon'ble Company's protection, and be sent to Europe. Any native guilty of the same offence shall, upon proof being

established in any of the Courts of Dewanny Adawlut, be subject to a fine of three hundred and seventy-five sicca rupees per maund, for every maund of opium which he may be convicted of having illegally provided; one half of the above fine to be paid to the informer, and the other half to Government."

The following is an extract from the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council, in the Revenue Department, under date the 8th October, 1790, declaring trade at Sylhet open to all Europeans and natives under certain restrictions:—

"Agreed and ordered, that all British-born subjects, Armenians and Greeks, as well those now at Sylhet as those desirous to proceed there for the purposes of trade, who shall produce to the Collector of the district a license or certificate from the Secretary to the Government, showing that they have permission to reside in that country, shall receive a purwanah from the collector to the thanadars of the places and purgunnahs there and near to the place where limestones are drawn or other articles of merchandize, such as wax, ivory, and iron, or other manufactures of the country are procured, (excepting places north-west of the Surmah river, for to such places no persons, whether British-born subjects, Armenian, or Greek, shall on any account be allowed to resort,) directing that the party shall suffer no let or hindrance in carrying on his traffic whilst he conducts himself in an orderly manner and attends duly to the directions hereinafter mentioned concerning the trade of the natives. * * * * * *

"Agreed and ordered, that the trade of Sylhet, whether in chunam or other articles, be declared entirely free to all the natives, or, in other words to all persons generally known under that denomination, under the following regulations:—

"*1st.*—That they shall not supply the Cossyahs or other hill people with arms, ammunition, or other articles of military store under a penalty to be fixed by the collector.

"*2nd.*—That such prohibited articles shall not pass the chokeys, where all boats will be searched, and contraband goods, if found, seized. No boat shall be detained longer than is absolutely necessary for this purpose.

"*3rd.*—That no burkundazes, sepoys or other armed people belonging to individuals, shall be allowed on any pretence to pass to Laour and places north-west of the Surmah, nor to any place in the Company's country under the collector of Sylhet, unless it shall appear to the collector that the same are indispensably necessary for the personal defence or the safety of the property of the merchant or person who employs them."

In an advertisement, dated the 6th July, 1791, we find that a number of "Company's Certificates," or in other words, Promissory Notes, to the value of Rs. 99,000, had been "purloined" from the General Bank of India.

The Ganges Assurance Company was established in March 1791, with the sanction of Government, "for the benefit of the inland trade" with acting managers, Francis Lawrence and Benjamin D'Aguilar.

It may be interesting to know what was the value of the various kinds of rupee in circulation in 1792:—

Siccas of Moorshedabad.		Intrinsic value.			
Patna and Dacca per 100	Sa.	Rs.	100	0	0
Pholey Sonats	...	„	100	0	0
Dilhy Mahomet Shaai	...	„	99	8	0
Money Surat Large	...	„	99	8	0
Benares Sicca	...	„	99	8	0
Bessim Arcot	...	„	97	14	6
Sonats, Sabic and Duckie	...	„	97	8	0
Forshee Arcots	...	„	97	6	6
French Arcots	...	„	97	0	0
Patenea Arcots	...	„	96	9	6
Aurungzabee Arcots	...	„	96	9	6

Siccas of Moorshedabad.		Intrinsic Value.			
Gursaul	Sa.	Rs.	96	9	6
Madras Arcots, new	...	„	96	4	9
Masulapatam and Shardar Arcots	...	„	96	0	0
Patna Sonats, old	...	„	96	0	0
Benares Rupees, old	...	„	95	14	6
Madras Arcots, old	...	„	95	14	6
Furrackabad Rupees	...	„	95	12	9
Jehanjee Arcots	...	„	95	11	3
Chaunta Arcots	...	„	95	11	3
Calcutta and Moorshedabad Arcots	...	„	95	6	6
Old Arcots	...	„	95	3	3
Dutch Arcots	...	„	95	0	0
Surat Arcots	...	„	94	0	0

In the Salem country, ceded to the English by treaty with Tippoo Sultan, there were at the close of the year 1792, upwards of 800 looms being worked for the East India Company, and it was estimated that the following year's out-turn from these looms would be from 600 to 1000 bales of cloth for the European market.

On the 24th October, 1792, an order was issued calling in all the country coin, and stating that in future after the 10th April, 1794, only the sicca rupee would be received at the public treasuries, or issued therefrom, on any account whatsoever. And Government, with a view to enable individuals to get their coin or bullion converted into sicca rupees without delay, had established mints at Patna, Moorshedabad, and Dacca, in addition to the mint at Calcutta.

Judging from the constant alteration in the names of firms and the occupants of business houses, and also from the notices of the sales of houses, ships and estates, one would imagine that the mortality in Calcutta must have been very great, or the return home of individual tradesmen after a short sojourn in India very frequent. During the year 1792 these changes

were very observable, only a few of the advertisers at the commencement of the year being found in the advertising columns when the year was drawing to its close; while new names occupied their places and sought the patronage of the public. Many of these no doubt passed away from their earthly labors, and many failed in their expectations, but the bulk of speculators probably made their fortunes within a short time and left India with their wealth to live the remainder of their days in affluence in the land of their birth.

At that time (1792) it would appear that the Board of Trade did a large business for the Honorable Company in indigo. An advertisement appears inviting contracts. This would seem to have been more a commission business. The contractors were obliged to send a quantity of indigo as previously agreed upon for sale by the Company's Agent *in England*. The indigo was laden on the Company's ships at the Company's risk, and sold at their sales in England at the risk of the contractors. From the proceeds of the sales were defrayed in the first instance the charge for freight, and for each lot producing less than 4*s*. per ℔., the Company's home duty of 2½ per cent. and 2 per cent. for warehouse room;—whatever surplus there might be after all these charges were met, was paid to the contractors *at the rate of two shillings and threepence halfpenny per current rupee*; the rupee then being of the sicca standard.

Advertisements appear (1792) for remittances to England,—the rates being 2*s*. 1*d*. at six months' sight; 2*s*. at three months, and 1*s*. 11*d*. at tendays' sight.

Where are the long famed *Culna* wax candles, which used to illumine the tables of our ancestors in Calcutta in 1792? They used to cost fifty-five sicca rupees a maund!

The General Bank of India went into liquidation in the early part of 1792, and on the 2nd May the building, wherein the bank had carried on business, was sold by auction.

The following regulations, relative to passage money charged to officers going from port to port, were published on the 29th March 1793 :—

		N. E. Monsoon Oct to Feby.	S. E. Monsoon March to Sept.
To Madras ...	Sa. Rs.	100	... 152
Prince of Wales' Island	,,	100	... 125
Fort Marlborough ...	,,	150	... 180
Bombay	,,	200	... 250
China	,,	250	... 300
Ceylon	,,	150	... 175

In an advertisement of a sale by auction at Chinsurah on the 5th December, 1793, we find the following among the merchandise then to be brought to the hammer :—"Nutmegs, cloves, and Japan copper"—the last named article seems to have left the Calcutta market altogether for years past.

Those were the days when captains, pursers, and stewards of the Honorable Company's ships used to bring out their "little ventures," and advertisements used to appear openly in the newspapers of the exposure of their goods for sale. Here is one of the announcements in 1793—"Captain Hardinge and Mr. Stewart, purser of the *Kent*, beg to inform their friends and the public, that the investments brought out to them will be exposed for sale on commission in the long room of Dring, Cleland and Co., as soon as landed."

The following prices were realized for 3037 chests of indigo sold in London by the East India Company in 1794 :—

Fine blue and purples from ...	9*s*.	6*d*.	to	10*s*.	6*d*.
Good purple and purply coppers ...	8	0	to	8	6
Middling hard square coppers ...	5	3	to	6	3
Very lean and ordinary ...	2	0	to	4	6
Good middling Manilla flora ...	8	6	to	9	6

The Government loans, in 1794, consisted of eight and six per cents. The former were selling at 2 Rs. 6 as. to 2 Rs. 8 as. premium, and the latter at Rs. 1-2 to 1-14 discount.

Dacca muslins were once manufactured largely for export to Europe, where they were highly prized: the beautiful fabrics that are made at home, though not to be compared perhaps in texture to those that used to be made at Dacca, now command the market on account of their cheapness. It may be interesting to know the various kinds of the Dacca muslins which formed the staple of Calcutta exports at the time of which we are writing. We find the following in an advertisement in 1794, of an assortment of "fine and fine superfine" muslins:—(1) Dooreas, Batta cogjees; (2) Do. chucklah; (3) Do. Zenana cogjees,; (4) Jamdanees; (5) Handkerchiefs; (6) Cossaes; (7) Sublums; (8) Seerbunds; (9) Surbuttahs; (10) Allaballies; (11) Tanjebs; (12) Nayansooks; (13) Buddum caus; (14) Neckcloths; (15) Mulmuls of various kinds; (16) Flowered jungle cossaes and mulmuls.

A Marine Board is constituted by the following notice:—"*Fort William, May 7, 1795.*—The public are hereby informed, that the Governor-General in Council has thought proper to constitute a Marine Board for the superintendence and controul of all marine affairs of this presidency, and to direct that it shall be composed of the president and members of the Board of Trade. All persons in the Marine Department are accordingly required to obey the orders they may receive from that Board. The Governor-General in Council being desirous to provide for the safe pilotage of the river Hooghly, and to show every regard to the security of the property and lives engaged in the commerce of this port, is pleased to direct that all persons who may have any complaints to prefer against the neglect or inattention of any branch of the Pilot service, will transmit them to the Marine Board, by whom the most impartial mode of inquiry into such complaints will be adopted. All letters or applications on marine affairs are to be addressed to the president and members, or to Mr. George Taswell, Secretary of the Marine Board."

A strange notice, under the signature of W. A. Edmonstone, Secretary to Government, appears in the *Gazette* of the 4th June, 1795:—"The Custom Master is authorized from the above date (1st of June) to levy for his own benefit the following fees:—Five sicca rupees on each port clearance. Five per cent. on the amount of each of his bills for duty. All other fees are abolished." This percentage on work performed seems to have afterwards become general at all the subordinate custom stations.

The following is the average rate of the opium sales which took place on the 8th and 9th December, 1794:—Patna Sa. Rs. 542-13-0; Benares Sa. Rs. 645-12-0; Boglipore Sa. Rs. 329-0-0; Purnea Sa. Rs. 386-4-0.

The English Government having determined, in consequence of an expected famine in parts of Great Britain, to allow of the importation of grain and provisions duty free for the space of twelve months from 7th July, 1795, the Governor-General invites individuals to become exporters from India, and gives them certain privileges if they guarantee that the vessels on which they export shall proceed direct to London. The price of wheat, as furnished by the *Corn Exchange*, for five years, was as follows:—

Bushels at 70 lbs. *weight*. (Per quarter average.)

1790	from	35 to 61	...	51*s*.	10*d*.	or	6*s*. 5¼*d*.	p. b.
1791	„	36 to 52	...	45	8	„	5*s*. 8½*d*.	„
1792	„	36 to 53	...	42	8	„	5*s*. 4*d*.	„
1793	„	32 to 55	...	46	0	„	5*s*. 9*d*.	„
1794	„	45 to 60	...	52	4	„	6*s*. 9*d*.	„
Market price in July 1795				80	0	„	10*s*. 0*d*.	„

The price of rice in 1795 was from 38*s*. to 40*s*. per cwt.

Peas in July, 1795 were selling at 7*s*. per bushel.

The following table of exchange was ordered to be adopted for the adjustment of the Calcutta customs after the 1st December, 1796, in place of the rates then in use :—

Great Britain	... Pound sterling at	10 sicca rupees.	
Denmark	... Rix dollar ,,	2¼	do.
France	... Livre Tournoin ,,	24 for	10.
Spain	... Spanish dollar ,,	2¼ sicca rupees.	
Portugal and Madeira	Mill-rea ,,	2¾	do.
China	... Tale ,,	3⅓	do.
Madras	... Star Pagoda ,,	3¾	do.

By an order, dated Public Department, Fort William, the 19th September, 1796, the public are informed that "the Sub-Treasurer at the Presidency, the Resident at Lucknow, and the collectors of Benares, Shahabad, Moorshedabad, and Dacca have been authorized to receive until further orders, any sums of money, not less than sicca rupees five hundred, that may be tendered on loan to the Honorable Company for a period of one or two years at the option of the Governor-General in Council, on which interest will be allowed at, and after, the rate of twelve per cent. per annum, and paid for the first year at the expiration of twelve months, whether the principal shall be then paid, or deferred until the expiration of the second year."

The Governor-General resolved to fish the pearl banks at Manar, and to employ a hundred and twenty boats with fifteen divers to each boat, and advertise, in 1796, for tenders for leasing the fishery.

On the 16th March, 1798, the Governor-General in Council abolished the additional duty of fifteen per cent. on foreign indigo, imported into the Company's provinces by the way of Benares or Behar, imposed by Regulation IX. of 1797.

By a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 19th April, 1797, the Board of Trade in Calcutta abolished, on the 16th January, 1798, the duty of five per cent. which had been

heretofore charged by the Company on the importation of gold dust, and gold in bars.

On the 1st May, 1799 a new loan was opened, bearing interest at *ten per cent.*

For the first time we observe native tradesmen emulating the Europeans of the same craft, in buying up whole investments of Europe goods on their arrival in India. On the 10th October, 1799, "Rassoo Day most respectfully informs the public that he has purchased the choice investment of Mr. Benjamin Richardson, chief officer of the Honorable Company's ship *Minerva*, which is now landed and exposed for sale at his long room in the China Bazar, for ready money," &c.

The following were the buying and selling rates of Company's Paper on the 3rd July, 1799:—

6	per cent.	notes,	buying	15- 8;	selling	16-8	discount.
8	do.	do.	do.	9- 0;	do.	10-0	do.
10	do.	do.	do.	0-12;	do.	0-6	do.
12	do.	do.	do.	0-10;	do.	0-6	do.

Patna would seem to have progressed so rapidly, that in 1799, James Arnold advertises an auction business at that station, and announces the admission of a partner into his firm.

Dacca seems to have had a brisk trade in the first years of the present century, with Calcutta and England, if we may judge from the numerous advertisements of the manufactures of that station, for sale both by auction and privately.

Remittances were given by Government to creditors in liquidation of the principal of their debt at 12 months' sight at the exchange of *2s. 4d.* per sicca rupee on England.

The Calcutta Laudable Society, having completed the period for which it was instituted on the 31st December, 1801, divided the funds of the old society, and a "New Calcutta Laudable Society" was commenced.

By an order, dated Fort William, 18th August, 1802, the Governor-General authorised two fairs to be held in Rohilcund annually, in the months of April and November, "in that part of Rohilcund, which has been ceded to the Honorable Company by His Excellency the Nawab Vizier. The place which has been chosen for the establishment of the fairs is situated on the eastern bank of the Ganges, about three miles below Hurdwar."

A loan at eight per cent. was opened at Calcutta, on the 18th February, 1802. The holders of the twelve per cent. just closed were invited to vest in the new loan.

A magazine for the reception of gunpowder from vessels proceeding up the river, having been erected at Moyapore, it was ordered that all powder should, from the 1st June, 1803, be landed at Moyapore, instead of Acheepore, as had been the order of 18th July, 1801.

Bills were at this time (1803) granted by the Governor-General on the Hon'ble the Court of Directors, on account of the Sinking Fund, at an exchange of two shillings and five pence the sicca rupee, payable at three months after sight.

During the late famines in India suggestions were frequently put forth by the newspapers, that the Gnvernment should prohibit the exportation of grain from India, while the natives were dying for want of food which was so abundant in the country. The authorities were opposed to such a measure as it would be an interference with the rights of free trade, but afterwards changed their minds as is evidenced by the following proclamation :—" His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council is pleased, from this day (16th September, 1803) to prohibit the exportation of grain of every description from Bengal by sea, and to direct that all grain already embarked for exportation on any ship or vessel in the river Hooghly, or in any other part of Bengal, whether belonging to British subjects or others, shall be forthwith relanded." And this was to be done within fifteen days of the date of the proclamation, or the

grain would be seized and confiscated. A further proclamation was made on the 27th of September, offering a fixed "bounty," which should be given to all importers of grain at Benares Allahabad and Cawnpore.

In previous years the number of auctioneers and commission agents in Calcutta were so many, that two pages of the *Gazette* were filled with their different advertisements of goods. &c., for sale. There were more than a dozen who followed the same calling; but they appear to have failed or died or gone away, for in the *Gazette* of April 1807, we find Messrs. Tulloh and Co. monopolizing almost the whole of the auction and commission business of Calcutta, and their advertisements alone fill two pages of the *Gazette;* the only other auctioneers existing being Williams and Hohler, and Lawtie and Goulds.

The Court of Directors, having approved of the establishment of a bank at Calcutta, invested with all the "privileges and immunities usually granted to corporations legally erected in England," it was announced by the Indian Government that such bank "shall be established in Calcutta on the 1st January, 1809, to be denominated the Bank of Bengal, and shall be incorporated for a term of seven years, under a charter to be granted for this purpose, by the Governor-General in Council, by virtue of the authority vested in him by the act of the 47th of George the III, section 2nd, chapter 68." The capital of the bank was Sa. Rs. 50,00,000, divided into five hundred shares of Sa. Rs. 10,000 each; one hundred shares to be held by Government, and the remaining four hundred to be taken by individuals. The bank to be managed by nine directors, three of whom were to be nominated by Government. These official directors were—"a member of the Board of Revenue or Board of Trade, one of the Secretaries to Government or the Accountant General, or Deputy Accountant General for the time being, or such other officers as Government may think proper to nominate."

The native bankers of Calcutta held several meetings at the beginning of the year 1827, to consider the propriety or otherwise of receiving any bank notes except those of the Bank of Bengal in their commercial transactions with Europeans. The result of these meetings was that they were not agreed on the point, and the circulation of other than Bank of Bengal notes continued without hindrance.

In 1830-34 a great crash came on the merchants of Calcutta, who lived as princes—but with other people's money. This had been occasioned solely by the mode in which the great Calcutta agency houses had been transacting business for the previous ten or fifteen years, in other words, since the charter of 1814. The rage for speculation or inordinate gains, on the part of the directors, and too eager or confident cupidity of their constituents, over-trading, improvident enterprize, extravagant miscalculations and excessive expense in living, were no doubt the cause of the failures. The effect of the ruin and dismay which then spread in Calcutta was not felt among the partners of the fallen houses, as the older merchants seeing the storm coming had returned home with fortunes, leaving penniless adventurers to take their places in the fallen agency houses.

In the beginning of 1830 the firm of Palmer and Co., one of the "princely merchant firms" of Calcutta, came to grief, and had to be wound up in the Bankruptcy court. This was the prelude to the fall of several other trading houses then existing, and which failed from over speculation in the purchase of indigo and other country produce; and the failure of these houses ruined many families which had been living in affluence and luxury.

Messrs. Palmer and Co. failed in 1830, with liabilities of £5,000,000; in 1832, Alexander and Co., £3,440,000; in 1833, Mackintosh and Co., £2,700,000; Colvin and Co., £1,120,000; Fergusson and Co., £ 3,562,030; in 1834, Cruttenden and Co., £1,350,000; making a total of £17,172,000.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE EUROPEAN ARMY.

OFFICERS OF THE TWO SERVICES.

HADLEY, about 1780, mentions the following as the expenditure necessary for an officer :—" A captain in garrison requires about thirty servants, namely a cashier, at 20 rupees a month ; a house steward, 10 rupees ; market man, 4 rupees ; two waiters (generally slaves without wages) ; a cook, 6 rupees ; his mate, 2 rupees ; two running footmen, 8 rupees ; a messenger, 4 rupees ; eight bearers for the palankeen, 33 rupees ; pipe bearer, 4 rupees ; woman to clean the house, 4 rupees ; porter at the door, 4 rupees ; link boy, 4 rupees ; necessary man, 2 rupees ; groom, 6 rupees ; grass-cutter 2 rupees. Whether wages are rose, we cannot say. But this establishment about 20 years ago, would have cost monthly 113 rupees (about 114). If he keep a female house-keeper and a carriage his expences will be more. In the field he will want thirty porters (koolees), as everything is carried by hand, at 4 rupees each monthly. So little were they acquainted with these matters in Leadenhall Street, that an order went out limiting the Commander-in-Chief to fifty koolees ; when in fact, he can hardly carry his baggage with three times that number."

A ballad, which seems to have had a "run" among the officers of the army at all the military stations in India, is given in the *Gazette* of the 8th March, 1787. It is headed " Ninety-five" :—

I am a younger son of Mars, and spend my time in carving
A thousand different ways and means to keep myself from starving ;
For how with servants' wages, Sir, and clothes can I contrive
To rent a house, and feed myself on scanty ninety-five.

Six mornings out of seven, I lie in bed to save
The only coat my pride can boast, the Service ever gave;
And as for eating twice a day, as heretofore, I strive
To measure out my frugal meal by scanty ninety-five.

The sun sunk down in Thetis' lap, I quit my crazy cot,
And straight prepare my bullock's heart, or liver for the pot:
For Khitmudgar or Cook I've not, to keep my fire alive,
But puff and blow, and blow and puff, on scanty ninety-five,

My evening dinner gormandiz'd, I buckle on my shoes,
And stroll among my brother Subs in quest of better news;
But what, alas! can they expect from orders to derive,
Which scarce can give them any hopes of keeping ninety-five.

The chit-chat hour spent in grief, I trudge it home again,
And try by smoking half the night, to smoke away my pain;
But all my hopes are fruitless, and I must still contrive
To do the best a hero can, on scanty ninety-five.

Alack! that e'er I left my friends, to seek my fortune here,
And gave my solid pudding up, for such uncertain fare;
Oh! had I chose the better way, and staid at home to thrive,
I had not known what 'tis to live, on scanty ninety-five.

On the 1st October, 1792, the Commander-in-Chief published a very strong order against Colonel White, then commanding officer of the station of Futtyghur. We will quote the order in its entirety, in order to show how loth the authorities were to do aught prejudicial to the wishes of natives of "respectable character":—"However painful it may be to the Commander-in-Chief to take public notice of the misconduct of officers of the highest rank in the army, yet he feels it to be an indispensable duty to take care that no rank or station shall protect a man from the censure or punishment which an attempt to counteract the regulations of Government so justly deserves. The bazar regulations were calculated to suppress abuses which had long disgraced the Bengal Army, and degraded the character of many of the principal officers; and Lord C. (Cornwallis) has therefore perused with sentiments of the highest disapprobation the papers referred to the Governor-General in Council relative to a dispute between Colonel

White whilst commanding officer of the station of Futtyghur, and Mr. Grant, the commissary of bazars, from which he perceives not only a deviation on the part of Colonel White, from the spirit and letter of the bazar regulations by assuming to himself a direct authority over the public servants of the bazar, in the instances of sending for them to his house, of punishing the head cutwal and of taking cognizance of the acts of others without the intervention of the commissary, but also in an open and deliberate opposition to G. O. by issuing a cantonment order commanding the attendance of the inhabitants of the bazar, including, according to his own explanation, the public servants, when summoned to him by an orderly, although by a G. O. of the 16th July, 1787, it is directed, that commanding officers of stations shall not on any account give directions or orders to the cutwals, chowdries, or the inferior officers of the bazars, but through the commissaries or their deputies, who must be responsible for the execution of them. Had Lord C. been in Bengal at the time of the reference to the Governor-General in Council, he should have thought it incumbent on him to call Colonel White to a public account for his disobedience to the orders of Government, but after the lapse of so long a period he shall confine his punishment to the censure contained in this order, and to a fine of 1,000 rupees to be deducted from Colonel White's share of the bazar fund, now under distribution, which is to be presented to the cutwal, by the commissary of Futtyghur, as some trifling compensation for the injury he suffered; and as it appears that the cutwal, who by every information, is a man of respectable character, and extremely well qualified for the office he held, refused to continue in his situation after the public disgrace inflicted upon him, the commissary of bazars is directed as a further act of justice to give him the option of being reinstated in his office of head cutwal of the Futtyghur bazar."

In 1794, the officers in India belonging to the Company's troops were so sensible of their numerous supersessions by the

introduction of the King's troops, that various meetings took place at the three presidencies, and their grievances were stated in strong but respectful terms in a petition to His Majesty and the Court of Directors. These petitions were not taken into consideration, and the officers were driven to the necessity of deputing one of their number from each presidency to England with further representations. On their arrival a committee was formed, whose protests were so powerful that at length new regulations were framed, which, although they did not confer those extensive promotions expected by the officers of the Indian Army, yet tended to allay that unhappy ferment which had been excited, and to ameliorate the general interests of the service. "Furlough on pay for three years was conceded, and full pay for life after twenty-two years' service. The Court subsequently granted half-pay to officers who had served thirteen years in India; an equalization of pay with officers of similar ranks in the King's service, and also pensions for mutilated limbs, severe wounds and loss of sight."

The following is a singular garrison order by the Governor-General, under date the 5th May, 1795:—"In future, a reward of thirty sicca rupees will be given, for apprehending and bringing into garrison, any French prisoners who can be proved to have escaped therefrom, (Chandernagore?) on application to the Town Major."

The following observations made by Mr. Dundas at a Court of Proprietors on the 18th June, 1795, show the position held by officers of the Company's Army in respect to the King's service:—"He thought it necessary to say a few words to guard the House being misled as to the charges to be deducted from the revenues of India. He did not mean to hold out that the surplus would in future years be so great, for justice to the Indian army required that they should make a great variation. That army was on a footing contrary to the

establishment of all other armies; originally it was extremely small, and intended only as a guard to particular factories; but now when it has increased to a size as large as the armies of European monarchs, it was impossible that the same establishment would answer for it. Yet this was now the case, for they were deprived of the power of rising higher than the office of Colonel, and were bereft of all that hope of rank which was essential to the feelings of military men. There was also stagnation in the succession of lower ranks of officers; he therefore intended to have established a staff of field-officers, and to set on foot an universal promotion. This could not fail of creating an additional expense, but justice, fairness and policy demanded it. There were other disadvantages of a more cruel nature under which the Indian army labored; an officer, after perhaps a slow and dreary progress of thirty years, during which time he was continually combating all the dangers of a dreadful clime, and of an enemy, must, as things are now constituted, make up his mind to be an exile from his native country, or return without any acknowledgement or reward from those he had served, to starve perhaps, unless fortune enabled him to lay up something for the support of old age. He therefore thought that, after a certain number of years' service, they should be enabled to return home with the full pay of their rank. But this was not all. It often occurred that, at the very first outset the climate made it necessary for an officer to return for the recovery of his health, instead of which he was obliged to remain there struggling with a broken heart and disease; for if he returned without means, he must starve, or be dependant on the charity of his friends, a state not fitted for the mind of a soldier. If, then, an officer should be obliged by bad health to return for ever, or for experiment to get restored, he should do so without loss of either rank or pay. It was politic to keep in their minds the thought of their native country, and to give them, not wantonly, but on a fair occasion, the power to visit their friends (even without

sickness) without forfeiting either rank or pay. All these points he conceived to be great and important rights that should no longer be postponed; and before the last ships of the seasons sailed, he would suggest to the Company the adoption of those measures, and had little doubt of their being effected."

The following is an abstract of papers laid before the Proprietors of India Stock, with reference to the augmentation of the Indian army, on the 10th March, 1798:—"That it being His Majesty's intention to new-model his army serving in India, by adding two companies to each regiment, so that the establishment of a regiment will consist of twelve companies, with 1200 rank and file in each regiment; in order therefore to preserve a proper uniformity between His Majesty's and the Company's regiments of European Infantry, it is proposed, that the present establishment be formed into four regiments of 1200 rank and file each, divided into twelve Companies consisting of one colonel, two lieutenant-colonels, two majors, each to have a company; seven captains, one captain-lieutenant, twenty-five lieutenants, ten ensigns, forty-eight sergeants, sixty corporals, twenty-six drums and fifes, 1140 privates, with staff as at present. Two regiments to be stationed at Bengal, one at Madras and one at Bombay. That the European artillery receive an increase of non-commissioned officers and privates to the number of 390. That the present establishment of private sepoys in the native regiments be reduced, as casualties happen in Bengal, from 1600 to 1400 privates; and at Madras and Bombay from 1800 to 1600. And that an additional regiment of native infantry be formed at Madras, consisting of 1600 privates with the same number of officers as at present; and in order to keep the proposed establishment in an efficient and respectable state, the time for which recruits are enlisted be extended from five to eight years, or if practicable to ten years; that none be enlisted but young men from 16 to 25 years of age; that a place or depôt be established as near town as

may be convenient for the reception of such recruits, not exceeding 500, to be gradually enlarged, if thought necessary; that the establishment for such a depôt be superintended by an officer of rank not higher than that of a major, and that the whole annual expense of the establishment shall not exceed £1673-10s. The report concludes with a request, that as it will probably require 800 men to complete the new establishment, His Majesty will be pleased to allow the Company a licence to recruit in the usual manner." This plan was adopted by the Court.

A very clever skit on the old system of drill and the new, lately introduced by Sir Henry Torrens, in 1826, appeared in Mr. Buckingham's paper *The Journal*, which amused every body at the time, and may amuse some still; it was entitled "A Day in Cantonments:"—

Light in the East, top-dugga (1) on the ear,
And hark, the bugle's summons shrill and clear,
Enter Ram Churrun (2), messenger of woe,
'Top-dugga, sahib'—answer 'Nikkul jow' (3);
'Bugle bujata' (4)—'Hum ne soona, nay' (5).
'Hum soona, sahib (6)'—'Nikkul jow, I say.'
Alas! Ram Churrun, patient, mild Hindoo,
Reckless of angry threats and glances blue,
Still persevering, at a prudent distance,
Urges the fruitlessness of all resistance—
Urges, and would have failed at last,
But that a second loud, unwelcome blast
Floats on the breeze and proves beyond a doubt,
That, *nolens-volens*, master must turn out.
Slowly he rises, with Ram Churrun's aid,
Habilitates, and canters to parade;
Gropes in the thick dull mist, and having found
His regiment, falls in and marches round.
All hail, Sir Harry! but for thy improvements,
Still should we study antiquated movements,
Still plodding on the old dull trackless way,
Hack at Dundas but every other day,
And revel in a nap, unhallowed leaven
Of sleep, four mornings out of seven.

Now, barring Sundays, every burra bhore (7)
Views us unlearning what we learnt before,
Threes to the right—'Toom kuhan jate ho?' (8)
Threes to the left—'You paugul, ither ao' (9).

(1) Gun fire. (2) The unfortunate sub's unfortunate valet.
(3) Get out (4) The bugle sounds. (5) I didn't hear it.
(6) I heard it, sir. (7) Early dawn. (8) Where are you going to?
(9) Come this way, fool.

The Court of Directors repeated an order made by them on the 26th August, 1826, prohibiting military officers from commercial speculation. "Any military officer," says the order, "who may be proved summarily, to the satisfaction of the Governor-General in Council, to have been engaged in any mercantile or commercial speculation whatsoever, shall be held *ipso facto* imcapable of serving, and shall be forthwith suspended and sent to Europe, with a recommendation to the Hon'ble the Court of Directors that he be dismissed from their army."

By an order by the Governor-General in Council, dated 15th June, 1812, officers resigning or dismissed the service and ordered to proceed to Europe, were provided with passages in the Company's ships, "allowed to sleep in the steerage," and "accommodated at the third mate's table," to whom a sum of Rs. 868-6-9 was paid on that account.

Those who can look back as far as 1814 will remember, that the state of society in England in those days was widely different from what it is now. Hard drinking was then so much the fashion that it was regarded as a sign of manhood to indulge in it. Foul language, gambling, and duelling were considered as the accomplishments of a gentleman. When such was the opinion of society in England, no one will be astonished that the same fashion was followed in India and that a good deal of it survived as late as 1824. The excuse for the indulgence of gambling pleaded by young officers was the dull monotony of India camp life; cut off as they were from England by such an interval of time and space, and the

absence of books, book clubs or English newspapers. And as for drinking, the famous Irish excuse, "plenty to drink and *always* a-dry," was considered satisfactory. There was little or no female society to act as a check on evil propensities, to soften or improve the manners, and to elevate their moral tone by the sweet influence for good that every right-minded woman possesses and exercises on those around her.

MOFUSSIL LIFE.

The ordinary Anglo-Indian day passes in somewhat an unedifying fashion. About half an hour before dawn, just as one's bed is becoming a little endurable, and just as we cease to notice with indignant remonstrance the sleep that has overtaken our punkah-puller (compensated for the monotonous flapping of that unsightly machine by the light breeze that belongs to the hour, and comes light but sweet through the open window); just at this calm period, custom and medical advice force us to rise and go forth to "eat the air." Our horse is at the door; he likewise, enjoying the early freshness of the morning—too soon, as we know, to pass away. Returning from our ride, streaming with perspiration, and not in the best of tempers, we proceed to lay the foundation of dyspepsia for the day, by a visit to the "coffee shop." Readers in Calcutta or in England may not be acquainted with the nature of this favorite institution of the mofussil; those who are, will not perhaps object to be reminded of some of the pleasantest hours (such as they are) which the hot season has to yield.

"Drawn together by that true feeling of sociality and brotherhood, which is the cause of some of the best as of some of the worst characteristics of English society in India; at every mess house throughout the country, one is sure, on returning from the morning ride, to find a table spread with bread and fruit, tea, coffee, and cigars. Here gradually present themselves the civilian in his white jacket, the soldier from parade, eager to throw off his uniform and follow the

civilian's cooler example; the letters and journals are distributed by the postman; the kidmutgars bustle about with the cups that "cheer but not inebriate;" and sipping, smoking and scandal succeed the previous silence of our lovely canter. Time thus slips away.

"It is nearly eight o'clock, and it is already time to close the house! We have now ten or eleven hours before us of complete confinement, how are they to be got through? One room (that influenced by the thermantidote) is alone habitable, enjoying a temperature of 90 degrees Fahr. We lie extended on a couch backed with matting, which is found necessary to prevent undue perspiration, and in this position we read till breakfast time. We may wile away a half hour with the havildar of our company, and have a look at the order book.

"Dressing supervenes the cold bath, either plunge, shower or with wholesale earthen vessels full, dashed over the glowing frame, which imparts at least a temporary vigour; the previous waste of the system and the present bracing combine to make one enjoy one's breakfast; and we prolong the meal by tea and cheroot as long as we possibly can—say till eleven. We probably now again undress; and lying extended in some darkened room read or sleep till tiffin time. For that meal, fortunately perhaps for ourselves, we have not much appetite; the iced beer is however grateful and we drink our *quantum sufficit*, which may very from a pint to two quarts.

"Now remain from three to six, more reading and more sleep; at the latter hour we dress again, and go forth in our buggy for a languid drive through the evening air, hotter than we have felt it, even if we had been out during the day; for the radiation that has been going on all day seems to increase for some hours even after the sun has set. Those who have passed the day as we have described it, under tatties and punkahs, feel the heat so much as to lose nearly all the pleasure of the drive; indeed some give up the practice in despair.

"Conceive the scene that greets one as he leaves his house. Trees white with dust, bending before the furnace blast, that has not ceased blowing the whole day; barren, parched fields, miserable deserted looking bungalows; compounds surrounded with broken mud walls; languid natives lying outside their doors in the villages; used up dogs sleeping in the streets; and as it grows darker, the skulking form of a wolf or jackal trotting across the road in search of prey in the form of a dead cow, or a native child.

"On our return to our bungalow or the mess house, chairs are ordered into the verandah, or on to the *chabootra*, or terrace in front; where under the equivocal relief of a large hand punkah, we sit till summoned to dinner. Dinner ensues in due time, with its horrible steam and sparkle; a momentary excitement is perhaps created by the conversation and the wines; but even at best it is a wonder if some of the guests be not asleep before the removal of the cloth; and so more time is killed till nine o'clock. Cheroots are lighted and an adjournment to the billiard room follows. Play and the social glass prolong the weary evening a few hours an then we retire to our own house to spend a hot and probably sleepless night."

Mr. Tennant, in his *Indian Recreations*, writing in 1798, tells us something of life in the mofussil. He says:—"The mode of living in this part of India (Cawnpore) has within the last ten or fifteen years, undergone a very great alteration. Before that period, the civil and military servants of the Company of the first rank were lodged in bungalows worse than those of a subaltern of the present day. As the practice of feeding on beef, mutton, pork, and poultry was not then introduced, their tables were very poorly supplied: even vegetables were not to be had, though an article indispensably necessary to the climate."

For several months in the year the tea table holds its place either on a "chubutra" of masonry at a little distance from the

house, or in an open verandah. Here the lady enjoys after a morning drive, the "chota hazree," or small breakfast, consisting of tea and buttered toast. Here she and her husband receive their letters, should the servant, instead of themselves, have called for them at the post office. And here it must, we fear be confessed, advance and ripen an occasional acquaintance, that in this country sometimes ends disastrously.

Also after dinner, unless when the presence of a large party renders it incumbent to remain in a stifling room, listening to bad music and uninteresting conversation, it is customary to retire "outside," where the ladies have tea, listening, it may be, to some regimental band as it plays at a neighbouring messroom and where very many a pleasant hour is spent.

THE CADET.

"Having produced satisfactory proof of his being the person alluded to in that paragraph (of the letter from the Court)———is admitted to the service accordingly." Such was the phraseology used in general orders in 1811.

On the 4th of November, 1815, the Court of Directors came to a resolution that "no cadet or other person going out in the Company's service should be suffered to leave England until he was instructed in the rudiments of the Hindostanee language." This resolution, however, became a dead letter; indeed it was never acted upon, as we find that "boys of sixteen and seventeen, and most of them raw from school" continued to be sent out without any knowledge of the language which the soldiers they were destined to command speak, as well as the language of the people. Even medical men were turned loose in India without that knowledge of the language which could enable them to ascertain the wants of those of whose health they were in charge.

To obviate, as far as practicable, the extreme inconvenience to which cadets were liable on their arrival in India, from incurring exorbitant expenses at taverns, to which they generally

resorted, before any arrangements could be made for occupying quarters in Fort William, the Governor General in Council considerately ordered (under date 15th April, 1820) the appointment of a salaried officer "to receive charge of the cadets on arrival, and to retain command of them until they proceed, under orders from His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, to join a regiment." It was a special duty of this officer "to supply cadets with servants; to see that they are settled in quarters; and generally to protect them from the extortion and impositions of native agents." A mess was established, at which this officer always dined and superintended. The mess was in the Fort. Of course, this arrangement was only for those young men who had no friends nor relations to whom they could go on arrival.

Munro, when a lieutenant, who had held for some time a staff appointment, spoke of the shifts he was put to in order to live within his means:—"It (my dress) grows tattered in one quarter whilst I am establishing funds to repair it in another, and my coat is in danger of losing the sleeves, while I am pulling it off to try on a new waistcoat." And we find him afterwards, when holding a good civil appointment, writing home to his friends in England, on the luxuries of the East:—"I have dined to-day on porridge made of half-ground flour instead of oatmeal; and I shall most likely dine to-morrow on plantian fritters;" and this simplicity of fare, "being the effect of necessity, not of choice." Unquestionably we are in these days much more comfortable. Comfort and competence are more generally diffused. Splendid fortunes are now seldom made, for bribe-taking is no longer permitted; but moderate wealth is more easily, as it is more honestly, acquired, and, carnally speaking, the things which render life agreeable, are far more within the reach of all.

After the abolition of the Baraset institution it became necessary to devise some other way of disposing of the cadets until they could be finally posted to regiments; and the

system, which under certain modifications, has continued to the present day, was therefore adopted. The cadets on landing were permitted to choose with what regiment they would do duty: and when a sufficient number had been collected, they were sent off in fleets to their several destinations, by the river route, each fleet being placed under the charge of an officer of standing, either specially detailed for the duty or proceeding to rejoin his regiment from furlough or elsewhere. There are few of us probably who have not heard something of the scenes which used to be common in those fleets during their progress up the river; how the inhabitants of the villages on the banks used to flee at their approach, and how drinking and debauchery of every kind, varied by an occasional duel, or the homicide of some unfortunate native, used to be the order of each and every day. This state of things continued until the Government steamers began to ply between Calcutta and Allahabad, when most of the cadets naturally adopted the more rapid and agreeable mode of travelling which they afforded, and the fleet system died a natural death, the river steamers giving place in due time to the yet more rapid travelling by rail.

A court martial was held on Cadet Emly, of artillery on the 9th August, 1815, for having flogged with a horse whip a native sentry belonging to the guard stationed on the high road leading from the cantonment of Dum Dum to Calcutta.

THE GRIFFIN'S INTRODUCTION TO INDIA.

The Griffin's introduction to India in 1823 is thus told by a Cadet in the *United Service Magazine*:—

"In due time dinner was served, when I made my first acquaintance with Indian edibles at a mess-table; though it must be admitted that the opportunity was not a fair one for forming an opinion, the palate, especially that of a youngster, not being over fastidious after a long voyage. A variety of viands there certainly was, and an abundance, still I could not but notice the want of flavor in the animal food and vegetables.

Of course I cannot recall the bill of fare, though probable the following dishes, amongst many others, figured in it,—mulligatawny, sheep's head curry, (the ingredient being a cheap one is much in vogue on the mess-table where dinner is furnished by *contract*,) a hind-quarter of insipid mutton, not over fat, and poultry *very* fresh, and of course, *very* tough; then the vegetables might have been potatoes, nole-kole, and brinjalls, or *jinjals*, as some of us called them. For the second course, a mangoe-tart, custards and plantain fritters, whilst a pine-cheese brought up the rear, flanked by very white bread, and white butter. The wines were sherry and claret; and the dessert consisted of the never-failing cashew nut, with plantains and biscuits. * * * * *

"I had scarcely risen from my camp cot on the following morning when that indispensable functionary the barber was introduced; indispensable at least in India, where not one man in twenty ever takes the trouble to shave himself: amongst our soldiery there being a barber to every troop or company. There are no more skilful or more communicative members of the profession than our Indian barbers, who are peripatetic, being ever on the move, and never operating at home. In this instance I was not sorry to submit my chin to the skill of another, albeit the black finger and thumb that embraced my nose to aid the operation were none of the sweetest. The shaving over, the man proceeded to go through a variety of professional evolutions, such as cleaning (picking) the ears, paring the nails, cracking the joints, &c., which latter, however, I willingly dispensed with; indeed, it is seldom endured by Europeans, and was now mainly introduced perhaps to astonish the weak mind of a Griffin. Another accomplishment of the Indian barber is that of cutting corns with his razor! * *

"I shall never forget the first Sunday I spent at Madras, or rather at the Red Hills, for it was there we passed it. The Red Hills are about twelve miles distant, and here are several

country-houses on the bank of a lake, where some of the wealthy merchants and big-wigs of the Presidency, who are not over solicitous about their spiritual welfare, spend the Sabbath in boating, billiards, card-playing and feasting. Mr. —— had a house at this place, and here he usually spent his Sundays, going out after office-hours on the Saturday and returning on Monday morning. I am ashamed to say I was one of the party, for there were several kindred spirits all good fellows, of course, friends of Mr.——. The whole day was passed in the before-mentioned amusements, but I could not be persuaded either to play at cards or billiards, never before having seen a Sunday so desecrated. The conversation, too, of my new friend's associates, was all in keeping. Altogether, young though I was, the immorality and irreligion with which society in India (for I soon found the evil was not limited to the circle into which I was thrown) was then so strongly tinctured, shocked me greatly, and painfully did I contrast these heathenish goings on with what I had been accustomed to in the quiet home I had just quitted."

The following letter in one of the Calcutta papers shows the way of living which was so general among the newly arrived young officers of the army:—

"I arrived in India about fifteen months ago, and had the good fortune to be posted to a corps very soon after my arrival. I had £120 in my pocket, which I thought a large sum; and I believe it was more than any of *the batch* could boast of. I purchased a horse for Rs. 470; I paid for my uniform Rs. 426; for a saddle and bridle Rs. 60-12; white jackets and pantaloons Rs. 240; a set of breakfast apparatus, including everything Rs. 94; a bed, table, four chairs, and other necessary articles of furniture, Rs. 140; a small tent, second-hand, Rs. 210; and other trifling articles suitable to the climate, about Rs. 300. My father told me to stand comfortably, and I did so; and borrowed from the agency house Rs. 740 to pay my debts, resolving to

clear it off as fast as possible. An old sub, to whom I had a letter, told me what servants to hire, and what establishment to keep up in order to appear respectable. I had no time for being a dandy, less for drinking, and no expensive habits. I was resolved to study my profession, and set to work eagerly. I bought the requisite books, all included in the above Rs. 300; and after the first month, was snugly settled, and made no bad figure at the head of a company, to which I was not a little gratified to find myself posted on field days. My monthly expenses were as follows, and have never varied twenty rupees any month since the second month after my arrival:—

	Sa. Rs.
Mess bill, on an average	70
Breakfast do.	20
Horse's keep, including servants	16
House rent	35
Servants	60
Subscription to periodicals, newspapers, reading-room, billiard-room, public parties, charity	24
Repairs of clothes, saddlery, breakages, tear and wear, sundries, incidental expenses, and uniform ...	40
Religion and agency	0
Total ......Sa. Rs.	265

"The whole of my income for the last year has netted Rs. 195 per month, so that I have regularly got into debt Rs. 70 per month, instead of paying off my Rs. 740, and am now in Messrs.———and Co.'s books about Rs. 1,500 exclusive of interest and commission charges.

"The prospect before me is very bright, and it will be still more so if I have the good fortune to be placed on half-batta. It is said, how do many others live and not get into debt who have the same allowance? I declare I should be ashamed to describe the shifts they are put to in order to keep within their income; and it would scarcely be credited that the sons of

gentlemen in a foreign land were reduced to such pinching poverty and absolute privations."

SUBALTERN'S LIFE IN CALCUTTA.

The following account we take from a letter in the *United Service Magazine* for 1837:—

"When on leave at the Presidency, an officer, upon application, is usually accommodated with one room in the South Barracks. It was my lot, in the year 183—, to inhabit for a short time one of these little Elysiums. I shall not readily forget my impressions on being inducted by my sirdar-bearer into the small apartment, which was destined to serve me at once for parlour, bedroom, and bath. For the latter indispensable accessory to an Indian toilet, provision had most liberally been made, by enclosing a corner of the room with a parapet a foot high, and by piercing the outer wall to let the water off. Naked and comfortless as any quarter in England, the appearance of this one was not rendered more prepossessing by the circumstance of the walls being adorned with sundry deep indentations, stains of suspicious colour, and a profuse sprinkling of ink, all of which told of the choleric temperament of a former occupant, probably some "jolly cadet," who here may have revelled in

"Rooms in Fort-William—
Pay, ninety rupees,"

and impatient of the stupidity of a *bearer*, or *khidmutgar*, for being ignorant of *his* language, had perchance striven to render himself intelligible by hurling, in rapid succession, at the head of his domestic, an empty brandy bottle, a book-jack, and an inkstand.

"Having got rid of a little of the superfluous dirt which encumbered my new abode, spread a Calcutta mat, and introduced my couch, table, and chair, the room answered my purpose perfectly well.

"I have always been rather a disciple of the school of Democritus than of Heraclitus. I commenced elbowing a

passage through the world at too early an age to be easily put out of my way ever after. Not being, however, altogether an optimist, my philosophy was perhaps subjected to a pretty severe trial during the two months of my residence in Fort William.

"Were the option allowed me, I should at all times prefer a quiet neighbour in barracks; but the fates were not now propitious. Opposite to me was established an officer from the Upper Provinces, about to embark for England on furlough, who being either himself a bird-fancier, or having some old maiden aunt curious in cockatoos, had provided himself with a large family of the feathered tribe. I verily believe he must have been guided in his selection by a determination to possess the noisiest of the race. Be that as it may, the chirping, chattering, screaming, and croaking, were incessant; and one of the collection, in particular, distinguished himself by a shrill, ear-piercing shrick, at frequent and regular intervals throughout the day, and a great part of the night.

"On my left, the adjoining quarter was occupied by an unfortunate, labouring under a temporary aberration of mind. The solicitude of his friends was strikingly denoted by a sentry being posted at his door. The silence of the sepulchre pervaded the room, except for the space of about ten minutes at morning and evening, when with unfailing regularity a solo was performed fortissimo upon the panels of the door, by the toes and heels of the occupant. Having thus expressed his impatience of restraint, or probably his non-appreciation of the kindness of his friends, the unhappy inmate relapsed into a state of quietude.

"On the other side was quartered a gentleman whose arrival was subsequent to my own. The first intimation which I received of the occupation of the neighbouring room was from a violin, which at six o'clock in the morning commenced discoursing most eloquent music. It continued uninterruptedly

till ten o'clock, when I sallied forth to fulfil an engagement in Calcutta. At 1 P. M. I returned; the performance was still unfinished. After my accustomed drive on the course, I again ventured to my room to dress for dinner; walking up the passage, the notes again struck on my ear. "Can it be possible?" I asked myself. "I certainly have never witnessed the application of steam or mechanism to violin playing (although such things are), but this untiring perseverance is beyond a mere mortal?" I was mistaken. I firmly believe that this indefatigable violinist grudged the moments he devoted to his meals, and that had he been endowed with an additional pair of hands, he would have fiddled through his breakfast and dinner."

LIFE AT BARASET.

It was a strange place that Baraset. If the Governor-General of the time being with the best aid of the Commander-in-Chief, the members of council, the whole secretariat, and the chiefs and big wigs of all departments, into the bargain had assembled in solemn conclave for the one purpose of devising how best to bring ruin and demoralization into the ranks of the young and inexperienced on their arrival as cadets in India, the chances are ten to one, if they could have fallen upon so sure, safe, and expeditious a plan of eradicating all good and instilling every evil as that same precious institution of Baraset.

The crowd of officers who have passed through the fiery ordeal of Baraset is now fast disappearing from the Bengal army—not a tithe, probably, of its existing members know aught regarding such an institution; and many of the elders among the field-officers, and grey-headed captains, remember it only as a dream of their youth, and think of its ancient scenes of riot, and wildness and folly, but as portions of their boyhood, and as part and parcel of their school-day-recollections. And that such a place had once a prominent being in the vicinity of Calcutta, and was the subject of more apprehensive discussion

and alarm to the bright functionaries in any way responsible for it, than half the other establishments of the army put together is a fact which the old records of the Adjutant General's office can well testify.

We are indebted to the *United Service Magazine* for the following information about the institution :—

About fifteen miles from the Government House of Calcutta, and about seven from Dum-Dum, arose a few brick residences beside a small sequestered village, embowered as it were, in a series of surrounding groups of large tamarind, lime, mangoe, and other trees of this part of Bengal. It was an agreeable retirement from the bustle of Calcutta; possessing the advantage of being so located that the owner could manage to superintend several small indigo works in its neighbourhood, and at the same time avail himself of daily intercourse, if necessary, with the metropolis of British India. It was to this spot that Government directed its attention as a convenient place, in which to establish a military college or institution for the reception of cadets on their arrival in India. Young candidates for military fame were here to acquire a knowledge of its vernacular language, with a fitting smattering of drill and daily parade duty. And so essential did these high qualifications seem in the eyes of the founders of the institution, that they were thought to be cheaply purchased by the outlay of some lakhs of rupees—and the risk and danger of bringing together two or three hundred heedless boys in the hot blood of untrammelled youth, just relased from the wholesome restraints, and still necessary supervision, of their late parents and guardians. To secure this place itself, a high monthly rent was granted to the proprietor on the condition of his erecting barracks, with other sufficient accommodation for the officers and staff.

The Governor-General paid a visit to Baraset on the 5th March, 1803. A Calcutta paper thus relates the incident:— "Captain Richardson, commanding the company of gentlemen

cadets, and Lieutenant Broughton, adjutant of the corps, met His Excellency at a distance from the cantonment, and conducted His Excellency to the head-quarters of the station where the company under the command of Ensign Oliver, was drawn up to receive His Excellency. Messrs. Craigie, Roberts and Sneider had the honor of being selected to mount (the first as orderly sergeant, and the latter as sentries) over His Excellency. Immediately after breakfast the gentlemen cadets were assembled for the purpose of being examined in the Hindostanee language. Messrs. Harington and Colebrooke, Judges of the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut, and Mr. Gilchrist, Hindostanee professor at the College of Fort William, were nominated as examiners. The whole being in readiness, His Excellency entered the examination room, accompanied by Mr. Harlow, and all the officers of His Lordship's staff. His Excellency remained during the examination of the first class, and on receiving the report of the examiners on the progress of each gentleman, His Excellency addressed them individually, and expressed his approbation at their different degrees of proficiency; and on the conclusion of the examination of the first class, His Excellency expressed his approbation in terms highly flattering to Captain Richardson, and to Messrs. Craigie, Roberts and Sneider, who composed the first class. In the evening His Excellency reviewed the company. They performed the manual and platoon exercise, marched to the front, then facing outwards, filed in two division to the rear, where they piled arms, and fell in as officers and sergeants with the sepoy detachment through the remaining part of the review, which being finished, Messrs, Craigie, Roberts and Sneider were ordered to the front, and adverting to the examination report of these gentlemen's proficiency in the Hindostanee language and of an equally favorable one by Captain Richardson of their military acquirements in the short period of five months, His Excellency expressed his approbation of their merit; and informed them, that they should immediately be ordered to join their corps in the line, and be recommended to the notice of the

officer in command of the corps to which they might be nominated, and as a further mark of His Excellency's approbation, and their merit, His Excellency was pleased to order that each of these gentlemen should be presented with a regimental sword and five hundred rupees." The Governor-General dined with the cadets in the evening, slept at Baraset, and proceeded to Barrackpore the next morning.

The establishment itself was composed of an elderly officer, as commandant or head schoolmaster, a second in command who was also a professor or teacher of Hindostanee, and a couple of subaltern officers, likewise professors, while one of the latter acted as the adjutant of the cadet company and the drill superintendent of the military tyros. As soon as cadets arrived from England in the different ships, which were then in the habit of coming out in fleets of ten or twelve Indiamen to avoid the French cruizers, so formidable to the Hon'ble Company's trading vessels, the cadets, to the number of a few score at a time, were handed over to the cadet institution. They were directed by the town major to betake themselves at Baraset, and palankeens were supplied at the public expense to carry them off, as early as practicable, from the taverns, and other temptations of the metropolis. Many, however, contrived to linger behind in town, to have a few days of fun at Cadit Flouet's, a well known punch-house of that day, but the others, rather more quietly disposed, were soon at Baraset—to the horror of a few of them, on their first reaching the pandemonium it presented.

It was there, after the riotous salutation first awaiting them, and their prompt initiation into the not unfrequent orgies of the place, they were consigned over to the custody of the sergeant major. A barrack room or a portion of a room was allotted them according to the crowded state or otherwise of the cadet company, and soon amid the 'awkward squad' they were taught the goose step, and seduced into the erudite mysteries of 'right face,' 'left turn,' and other great rudiments of the drill. After

much dire preliminary marching and countermarching without arms they were promoted to the dignity of handling an old artillery fuzil—until tolerably well drilled into its use and exercise. All this occupied the mornings and evenings: in the day time the young gentlemen had to attend classes, or lectures as they were called, but though the professors could enforce the attendance of all, it was a task beyond them to ensure attention to any thing like study; and thus the presence of four-fifths of the youngsters at class in spite of the kindness and exertion of the teachers, was a mere farce, a practical exemplication of 'Love's labour lost'—or a more free and easy periodical exhibition of 'As you like it.' Scarcely a youngster dreamed of serious application. Ponies, terriers, pariah dogs, shooting, sauntering about the barracks, smoking, drinking, gaming, and much worse amusements formed the idle occupation of the many.

Let the reader picture to himself two hundred or more tall strapping youths of eighteen or nineteen, of all possible dispositions and pursuits, at the very age of all others for reckless disregard of prudence and of consideration for the future; fancy these boys crowded together in a new country—in a bewildering and exciting climate—with no immediate check on their humors or ebullitions, and roaming about the noisy barracks at a mile's distance from the officers of the institution, and he may conjure up some idea of the daily row and riot of the place. On one side might be seen collected a turbulent group surrounding some unfortunate bill sircar, who had brought up a few 'bills in master's name," from certain stable-keepers or tailors in Calcutta. The bills were at once snatched from his trembling grasp, and then opened, and handed round for the edification of the group. Soon the documents were tossed about or flung in the air, for the amusement of beholding the terror and alarm of the poor bill sircar. But see, a few of them are actually torn in the increasing riot and excitement of the moment; in vain

the sircar protests, begs, and implores; all the bills are, by this time in tatters, and an unlucky voice has suggested the propriety of 'ducking the dun' in a neighbouring tank. With a shout, the agitated bill deliverer is borne away from the earth, uplifted by the arms and legs, and in a few moments is struggling and gasping away, in the muddy waters of the tank, half drowned amid the cries and yells and exultations of his fiendish tormentors!

A little to the left another party are baiting a jackal, which has been tied to a stake. Half a hundred ill-bred curs and half anglicised pariahs are barking around him, and yelping and snapping at the dreaded victim as their owners are 'stirring him up with a long pole,' and giving the devoted jackal sundry cruel thumps with brickbats and other missives to give him energy and animation. At last a single terrier rushes in the ring. He flies at the beast amid shouts of admiration that make the barracks ring again. The terrier is discomfited. Taunts, jeers, and angry exclamations are the order of the day—dog after dog is seized up, and thrown in upon the prey, who braves them all; but a heavy brick bat has floored him, and at once fifty rank curs rush on the momentarily disabled victim. He is torn, and dragged, and shaken, and gnawed at, while the *sportsmen* around yell and yoick, whoop, and tallyho, and exultation peals around as though a Badajos had surrendered, or a Bengal tiger had fallen before them.

Similar feats of prowess, the fighting of a few well spurred cocks, the backing of a kicking and obstinate tattoo, the firing at kites and crows flying hurriedly and screamingly in the air above; the reports of pistols, the blasts of ten mail-coach horns, and the practising upon copper bugles; these, and a dozen other recreations of a like nature, but all of them noisy, and uproarious, formed the pleasing pursuits and avocations of the young gentlemen at the institution we have been describing. No wonder that study was not the idol of their adoration!

Many were the serious evils, however, arising from congregating so many young and thoughtless individuals together. Even the steady and well disposed were partly carried down with the stream, and though perhaps uninjured in the main, and not much deteriorated by the bad examples ever before them, still they were not improved by them. There is a certain polish and sheen which cannot bear any coarse contact whatever, and there is a delicacy in some youthful minds—a purity of feeling which it is best to keep ever apart and unacquainted even with the coarseness and contamination of baser companions.

It must not be supposed that, among the crowds of cadets, there were not some who did not escape the ordeal with credit; but they had to contend with much that was unpleasing, and the very struggle and opposition they had to make, was far from being beneficial. They did not join in the turmoil and folly ever around them; they studied the native language, it is true; and left the institution in a few months; but they had witnessed what had better have been unknown to them, and though they came off victorious, they carried away with them somewhat of the stain and dust and soiling of the conflict. But if these were unimproved by Baraset, what must have been the fate of the unwary, the thoughtless, the yielding and too facile of the number so early exposed. Debt and extravagance were the least of the evils they fell into. Habits of drinking, coarseness of language, and demeanour, love of low sport and vulgar amusements, were the good fruits of the place; while to crown all, gaming, and a want of principle in pecuniary transactions, were so engendered and confirmed by the exposure, that the effects remained for life, and debased for ever the future career of the thoughtless victim.

It was a wise awakening of the authorities about head quarters, when, roused at length by the ill-success of their institution, by the ruin of many promising young men, the

premature deaths of not a few, and the disgrace and shame that overtook no mean portion of the crowd of unfortunate youths then exposed, bringing some to the bar of the Supreme Court, and others into the debtors' jail, and *all* into disrepute, they at length determined, in the middle of 1811, to break up the college and disperse the entire establishment.

Baraset was accordingly done away with, and cadets thenceforward sent at once to their corps, where, under the eye of their seniors, they soon fell into the manners and demeanour of more fitting examples, while the riots and disturbances, before marking the career of the juniors of the Indian service, became unheard of and unknown.

The following extract from a despatch of the Court of Directors, of the date of 1808, affords a clue to the cause of its extinction:—"And whereas it has been represented to the Court of Directors by the Government abroad, that many of the cadets at the institution have manifested a serious disposition to insubordination towards their superiors, and have been guilty of gross irregularities and ungentleman-like conduct towards each other, the cadet is hereby informed that on his arrival in India, he is subject to martial law."

We have alluded to some of the goings on among the cadets, who were located at Baraset in order to fit themselves for the service. The following strange order by the Governor-General in Council, dated the 14th May, 1807, discloses another feature in the discipline of the institution:—"The Honorable the Governor-General in Council, having had before him letters addressed to the officer commanding the cadet company by Mr. J. Kerns and Mr. C. Ellison, intimating their determination not to study the native languages, prescribed by the regulations of Government, and deeming it highly expedient that a conduct so entirely subversive of the principles of subordination as well as of the objects of the institution at Baraset, should be marked with his severest displeasure, has resolved that Mr. J. Kerns

and Mr. C. Ellison be suspended from the service of the Honorable Company, until the pleasure of the Honorable Court of Directors be known, and that these gentlemen be ordered to prepare to embark for Europe by the earliest opportunity."

At the first sessions of the Calcutta Supreme Court in January 1808, there were some flagrant cases. Mr. John Grant, a cadet, attached to the institution at Baraset, which appears to have obtained great notoriety on account of the mischievous tricks played by the Company's cadets located there, was tried for "wilfully and maliciously setting on fire and burning a hut at Baraset, the property of Keenoo bearer, on the 24th day of October last; he was "found guilty and sentenced to *death*." This was afterwards commuted to transportation for life. Four other cadets were tried for an assault on William Turner, garrison sergeant of Fort William, and convicted; three were sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

A court of enquiry sat for the purpose of investigating the circumstances of a duel which occurred at Baraset, on the 27th February, 1818, between two cadets attached to that institution, Messrs. Robertson and Kennedy. It appearing clearly from the evidence that Mr. John Robertson was the aggressor, and his offence having been peculiarly aggravated by the solicitude which he had evinced to take the life of his opponent even after he had relinquished his arms, the Vice-President in Council, "as a signal mark of the enormity of his crime, and as a salutary warning to others, is pleased to direct, in conformity to the resolutions of Government under date the 6th of May, 1809, on the subject of duels at Baraset, that Mr. John Robertson be suspended from the service of the Honorable Company until the pleasure of the Honorable the Court of Directors shall be known, and that he be required to proceed to England on board the Honorable Company's ship *City of London*." Mr. Kennedy's offence was overlooked in

consequence of the very aggravated provocation given to him by Mr. Robertson.

HALF BATTA.

The celebrated half batta regulation was promulgated in Calcutta on the 29th November, 1828, by direction from the Court of Directors, dated the 28th of May preceding; and in virtue of it certain stations of the Bengal army, namely, Barrackpore, Dum-Dum, Berhampore and Dinapore, were from the 1st January, 1829, considered half batta stations, whereby the Company's staff and regimental officers, on their arrival at those stations, were subjected to a reduction of an allowance hitherto considered by them to be permanent, and which amounted to twenty rupees a month taken from an Ensign's income, and double that sum from a Captain's. This deduction may appear small, but the expenses which officers, especially of the subordinate grades, unavoidably incur in a country like India, imposed upon them a severe system of economy in order to enable them even to keep free from debts. At the revision and adjustment of the pay and allowances of the army, some years previous, the batta was distinctly understood by the military servants of the Company to be fixed at its then rate and arrangement. The recent measure, therefore, wore the odious character of a breach of contract between the Company and this branch of their service, besides evincing *prima facie* a want of consideration towards the difficulties of junior officers, acting as seniors, which was altogether inconsistent with the usual liberality of the Company's Government. It is not surprising that the measure created intense feelings of indignation in the military service, and animated appeals were made to the local government, not only from those officers who were immediately subject to the reductions, but those who would be subjected to it hereafter. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, protested against the regulation, and was of opinion that "justice forbids

that the fixed allowances of regimental officers should be diminished;" he urged that "by reducing so considerable a portion of the army to half batta, many officers who have creditably discharged their laborious duties for 25 to 30 years, will be deprived of those advantages upon which they formed their hopes of revisiting their native country." Besides the Commander-in-Chief, persons of high rank and experience in India, forming a part of the local government itself, were also decidedly averse to the measure. But the Court of Directors were deaf to all the appeals, and Lord William Bentinck had to bear the stigma of having forced upon the military the obnoxious order, on which the instructions from the home authorities left him no option.

Such was the excitement caused by the promulgation of this inconsiderate and unjust measure, that meetings were held at every station among the officers to take into consideration what should be done. A petition to the Court of Directors was drawn up, and subscriptions raised to send home an agent to represent the grievances of the officers. Colonel Baker was selected for this important duty. For a considerable time the sepoys could not entirely divest themselves of the idea that they were to be mulcted as well as the British; but when they learned that the pay of their officers only was to be touched, they twirled their moustachios in pride, strutted about with a swaggering air, and gave every indication that they had formed an overweening estimate of their own importance. The saving to government was most paltry, about £10,000 a year; the effect was terrible, carrying dismay into the hearts of the European officers, whom it disgusted, disheartened, and, what was worse, humiliated in the eyes of their men, whose respect for them began from that day gradually to diminish. Every possible method was adopted for showing to the Governor-General the state of feeling in the army. Officers, seeing him coming, would turn out of the way to avoid him. No one would go near the park whilst he was at Barrackpore. His

balls were unattended, and commanding officers of corps agreed to decline his invitations to dinner. This seemed to sting him deeply, for he sent for all the commanding officers and questioned them about the matter, when one of the officers, a noble fellow, Pat Flemming of the 38th, boldly avowed that he agreed to decline his invitations. Eventually Lord William Bentinck succeeded in mollifying the commanding officers, and in allaying something of the outward show of that bitter spirit his fearfully mischievous and dangerous economy had elicited. Every previous Governor-General had rejected the enforcement of the measure; and two of the wisest of the Council beside the Commander-in-Chief, had set their faces against it. It was the general opinion that Lord William Bentinck had come out pledged to carry the measure, and that this was the condition upon which he obtained the exalted office which he held.

The Court of Directors, however, confirmed all the arrangements made at Calcutta by the G. O., dated the 28th May, 1828, generally known as the half batta order, and forbade the transmission to head quarters of any further appeals on the subject.

The half batta was subsequently abolished, and though not exactly within the scope of this work, we think it right to quote the order of the Queen's Government on the subject;—"*Fort William, the 6th January, 1865.* His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council has great satisfaction in announcing to the army that he has received the authority of the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of State for India, to declare that the rules hitherto in force with respect to the grant of pay and allowances at the full or half batta rates are abolished, and that from the 1st January, 1865, all officers non-commissioned officers and men in receipt of regimental pay and allowances, wherever stationed, will draw such allowances at the full batta rate."

COURTS MARTIAL.

The publication of the proceedings of courts martial commenced in 1815. On the 7th April of that year, the Commander in-Chief—says an order of that date—"conceiving that beneficial consequences to the discipline of the armies, may arise from the sentences of all courts martial occurring in India being promulgated to the corps at the several presidencies in general orders, in a mode similar to that now pursued in regard to those held upon officers and soldiers belonging to His Majesty's forces, His Excellency has accordingly resolved they shall be so promulgated in future," &c.

Captain Bell and Lieutenant Hutchinson of the 87th Foot, were arraigned for fighting "on the banks of the Hooghly," that is, in the most public thoroughfare in Calcutta, on the 16th November, 1815; and this before a non-commissioned officer and two privates of their own regiment.

The Government of Madras seem to have come into serious collision with the military head of the Army. Lieutenant General Macdowall, previous to his embarkation, left to be published to the army an order, dated 28th January, 1809, "in the highest degree disrespectful to the authority of the Governor in Council, and to convey insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government and subversive of military discipline, and of the foundation of public authority." The Governor in Council, "in consideration of the violent and inflammatory proceedings of that officer in the present and on other recent occasions, and for the purpose of preventing the possible repetition of further acts of outrage," was pleased "to anticipate the period of his expected resignation, and to annul the appointment of Lieutenant General Macdowall to the command of the army of this Presidency." Not content with this they order the suspension of Major Boles, whose signature was attached to the order as Deputy Adjutant General of the Army—"for giving currency to a paper of this offensive

description"—as if he could have prevented such circulation in his subordinate position.

The ill effects of the order above referred to remained after the departure of the Commander-in-Chief; a remonstrance against the measures adopted by the Madras Government was largely signed by officers in the army, and addressed to the Governor-General; another paper was got up, an address from the officers of the army to Major Boles, the late Deputy Adjutant General. "In this address," says the Governor of Madras, when noticing the seditious papers, in orders, dated 1st May, 1809, "a right is assumed to decide on the acts of the Government, by condemning in unqualified terms the sentence of suspension passed on Major Boles; and an encouragement is held out to other officers to violate their duty to the Government, by affording a pecuniary indemnification, not only to Major Boles, but to all such officers as shall suffer by any act of the Government, which the subscribers to the address may deem exceptionable." The Governor of Madras in the exercise of his rights, suspended four and removed four officers till the pleasure of the Court was received. In the meantime the suspended and removed officers were ordered to "hold themselves in readiness to proceed to England."

Major Boles was, however, restored by order of the Court of Directors, who very properly observed in their letter to the Government of Madras—"We consider the order to have been a flagrant abuse of his authority, and violation of his duty, but we cannot discover in it any such inherent and obvious *illegality* as could justify the Adjutant or Deputy Adjutant-General in refusing to obey the command they had received from Lieutenant-General Macdowall, that the said order should be circulated to the army. We do not mean to dispute that cases *may* occur in which an inferior officer would be justified in declining to obey an order of his superior; but those cases are very rare and must be strong indeed, which can warrant the

ormer in taking upon himself the severe and perilous opportunity of judging the acts of his superior, and debating with himself whether he will yield obedience to the orders of that superior, &c."

General order by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council; Fort William, June 19, 1813.—"The Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council considering it to be proper and consistent with the spirit and intent of the Articles of War and the enactment of the Legislature on this head, that superintending officers of native courts-martial should be sworn to the faithful discharge of the duties of their office; His Lordship in Council is therefore pleased to direct, that on all occasions of the assembly of native courts-martial (other than general courts-martial,) the European officer appointed to superintend the proceedings of such courts, shall take the following oath [oath omitted] to be administered to him by the commanding officer or adjutant of his corps, previously to his entering on the functions of his office."

General orders by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council; Fort William, 18*th September*, 1813.—"Major James Mouat, Corps of Engineers, having attempted to dispose of an English horse to His Highness the Nabob of Bengal, for the exorbitant sum of a lakh of rupees, and to enforce payment by menace, and having endeavoured by tampering with the vakeels of the native princes at the presidency, to induce them to purchase his horses for their employers at the same extravagant price; the Governor-General in Council deems the conduct of Major Mouat in this transaction to demand the decided interposition of the authority of Government, in order to vindicate the character of the nation and of the honorable profession to which he belongs from the stigma, which such acts on the part of a British officer must cast upon it, as well as to manifest His Lordship in Council's determination to protect the native princes and chiefs from

imposition and extortion. Under the impression, and deeming it an object of equal justice and necessity to inflict exemplary punishment on any individual who can thus prostitute the British name and character, His Lordship in Council has resolved to suspend Major Mouat from the service of the Honorable Company, until the pleasure of the Honorable the Court of Directors shall be known."

Kicking and abusing one's wife was, it appears in those days, considered a military crime, and tried by court-martial. On the 6th June, 1814, Captain Charles White, of the 66th Foot, was indicted "for conduct scandalous, and highly unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman, in shamefully abusing, cruelly beating, kicking and ill using his wife, &c."—"such conduct being in breach of the articles of war, and to the prejudice of good order and military discipline," &c., and Captain White was dismissed the service.

We meet with instances such as the following—Officers exposing themselves on the public road in "a state of intoxication and disgraceful indecency;" of a lieutenant breaking his sword and sending it to the adjutant of his regiment as a grateful present to his successor; another in a beastly state of intoxication standing at the gateway of a native city, and while the Rajah was passing calling him by one of the most opprobrious epithets in the native language.

One issue of the *Government Gazette*, that of the 19th October, 1815, contains no less than five courts-martial, one being on a Lieutenant Colonel:—(1) Lieutenant Thomson, of the 24th Native Infantry, is accused "of highly indecorous and improper language," to his commanding officer. (2) Ensign Dormer, of the 7th Native Infantry, for "an affray with Cornet Smith, of the 4th Cavalry, in which blows passed, they having fought and beat each other with sticks." (3) Lieutenant Macleod, of the 13th Native Infantry, for falsely charging his commanding officer "with endeavouring to instil into his mind

principles of a seditious and dishonest nature against the Government." (4) Lieutenant Bessy, of the 25th Native Infantry, "for joining in a combination with Lieutenant Newman and others, (who were not members of the mess) for the purpose of disturbing the harmony of the corps, by promoting and abetting each other in constant disputes on the most trivial subjects." (5) Lieutenant-Colonel Green, of the 15th Native Infantry, for sending in a false recommendation roll for the promotion of a havildar who had been less than four years in the service.

A strange feature in the courts martial on officers, was that when the sentence of dismissal was passed, the ex-officer was not allowed to remain in the country, but shipped off at once to Europe. The orders were—Lieutenant or Ensign or Captain ————is "to be struck off the strength of the army, from the date on which this order may be published at————, and will proceed without delay to Fort William; on his arrival there the Town Major will be pleased to take the necessary steps for providing Mr.————with a passage to England."

A court-martial was held on Ensign Cookney, of the 56th Native Infantry, at Barrackpore, for repeated absences from the station for many days, without permission, after being warned, and during such absence appearing at the theatre at Calcutta, and after being under arrest attending a public ball; and gross disrespect and insubordination to his superior officer. He was sentenced to be cashiered; but the Commander-in-Chief, in consideration of his youth, inexperience and contrition, mitigated the sentence to his being placed the junior of the rank in the regiment.

On Ensign King, of the 13th Native Infantry, at Barrackpore, for drawing bills on agency houses in Calcutta, where he had no funds; for insubordinate conduct in not attending a court of requests when ordered to do so; for disrespectful language and refusing to deliver up his sword when placed

under arrest. He was sentenced to suspension from rank, pay and allowances for six months. This sentence was cancelled by the Commander-in-Chief, in consequence of various mitigating circumstances which appeared on the trial.

On Assistant Apothecary Hamilton at Akyab, for being repeatedly drunk, and while in this state assaulting the hospital servants. And while under arrest, having gone to the house of the Subadar, broken open his box, and taken from it 230 rupees, nine silk dresses, and other articles of wearing apparel. He was sentenced to be discharged.

Lieutenant Lowther, of the 44th Foot, was arraigned in September, 1828, on various charges, among which was one for having "exposed himself on a public road in the cantonments of Ghazeepore, in a state of intoxication and disgraceful indecency, and otherwise behaved in a disorderly manner." The court found him guilty of the charge, but passed the most lenient sentence on him, viz., a reprimand, "considering him to have been laboring under temporary mental aberration from mid-day exposure in performance of his duty." On this the Commander-in-Chief (Combermere) remarks—"His Excellency would ask the members of the court, what man "in a state of intoxication," does not in some degree suffer under a "mental aberration" for the time. His Lordship must consider that no officer would do his duty, if he allowed intoxication to be an excuse for misconduct in an European soldier under his command; he cannot therefore, conceive, that any principle more injurious to discipline can be promulgated, than that "intoxication" under the name of "mental aberration," should be considered as an excuse for the misconduct of an officer, when it would not be admitted in extenuation of the misconduct of a private soldier."

On the 17th January, 1828, a court-martial was held at Meerut on Captain George Bridges Plantagenet Field, of the 23rd Native Infantry, for false charges on certain brother

officers; he was found guilty and sentenced to be dismissed. This sentence was commuted to being placed on the pension list. We notice this, as we had the pleasure of being acquainted with this pensioned officer many years afterwards, in Calcutta, when he was considered one of the most eccentric characters of the city.

We shall string together a few other courts-martial held on officers within the space of a few months. On Lieutenant Warwick, of the 5th Native Infantry, at Agra, for neglect of duty and sending in false reports on the 28th August, 1826: he was placed on the pension list. On Major Brown, of the 1st Bengal European Regiment, at Agra, for repeated neglect of duty, and disrespectful conduct to his immediate commanding officer: he was reprimanded. On Assistant-Surgeon Greenwell, for neglect of duty, and being, in a state of continued intoxication while with the 68th Native Infantry, in Arracan, in September 1826: he was dismissed. In confirming this sentence the Commander-in-Chief expresses "his regret that he should be so frequently called upon to enforce the penalty awarded for intoxication against those whose education and rank in society aggravate the character of that degrading vice. On Capt. Ball, of the 68th Native Infantry, for disrespectful conduct to his commanding officer, at Sandoway, in Arracan, in August 1826. On Captain Aire, of the 64th Native Infantry, for repeated absence from parade and writing disrespectful letters to his commanding officer, at Agra, on the 7th December, 1826. On Captain Mercer, of the 35th Native Infantry, for insubordinate conduct to his superior officer, and showing want of respect towards the brigradier, at Meerut; and on Paymaster Wildey, of H. M. 4th Light Dragoons, for conducting himself in an insolent manner before a court of inquiry held at Kaira, on the 21st September, 1826; in all but one of the last four cases the Commander-in-Chief made some pungent remarks on the conduct of the courts for the leniency

they had shown towards the accused in their awards—a reprimand being the usual sentence.

On the 19th November, 1829, at a court-martial held at Cawnpore, Lieutenant Torckler, of the 4th Native Infantry, was sentenced to be hanged, for having "fired a loaded pistol, or two loaded pistols, at Lieutenant Philip Goldney, of the same regiment, with intent to murder the said Philip Goldney." From the evidence it appeared that the accused was cursed with an irritable temper, which had been greatly aggravated by the behaviour of his fellow officers. The Commander-in-Chief in his remarks on the finding of the court says—"His Excellency has observed a spirit of hostility towards the unfortunate prisoner from his brother officers, little calculated to subdue or soften his unhappy and irritable temper. That they should withdraw from familiar and friendly intercourse, is accounted for, but His Excellency conceives there is an asperity in the notice of the acts of Lieutenant Torckler not measured with their actual offence, but aggravated by recurrence to past events with which they had no connexion; events which had been decided on by admitted authority, and over which oblivion might justly have been extended: the operation of such a conviction on the mind of the prisoner is evinced in his exclamation after the atrocious deed, "that desperation had driven him to it." Taking into consideration all the circumstances attending the case of this unhappy man, the Commander-in-Chief is willing to extend to him the powers of mercy which are entrusted to him, and in that feeling remits the sentence pronounced." He was therefore dismissed the service and sent home. This is the first instance that we have observed where an *officer* had been adjudged by a *military* court to death by hanging.

A very extraordinary scene occurred at Delhi in 1831. Lieutenant Talbot, of the 8th Native Infantry, had been tried by court-martial for an alleged insult toward the wife of

Lieutenant Ramsay, on which charge he had been honorably acquitted. Shortly after the acquittal of Lieutenant Talbot, while he was sitting as a guest in the mess-room of the 1st Native Infantry, a stranger, habited in a foraging cap and military surtout, entered the apartment, and, standing behind his chair, attempted to discharge two pistols at his head both of which were afterwards discovered to have been heavily loaded which buck shot. Fortunately both missed fire. Alarm was given, and the gentleman who sat next Lieut. Talbot, starting up, seized the assassin, and both falling together over some hookahs, to the surprise and consternation of all present, the voice of Mrs. Ramsay betrayed her disguise, and in the supposed officer they beheld a disappointed and revengeful woman. She was asked, whilst sitting in the chair, how she ascertained precisely Mr. Talbot's exact position at table? She said, she saw him through the chink of the outward door; adding, that she had first gone to the mess of the 8th regt., but not finding Lieut. Talbot there, she came over to the mess of the 1st regt. She also said that, on the evening preceding, she had been to the 8th mess, to look for Lieut. Talbot, but there were only two officers there; Lieut. Talbot was not one of them. She likewise said that she had determined to take Lieut. Talbot's life from the moment he had attempted to embrace her, and ruin her character.

A court-martial was held at Madras on the 18th February, 1830, on Captain Fullarton, of the 17th Native Infantry on a most extraordinary charge, that he "when in the disguise of a postman, at a masked ball given by the Honorable James Taylor, Esq., member of council, delivered to Mrs. Eliza Macleane, the wife of Major Thomas Macleane, of the European Regiment, and Secretary to the Military Board, an open writing, scurrilously and abusively addressed, thereby deliberately and intentionally offering insult to a lady." He was found guilty of giving the letter, but was acquitted of being

cognizant of the contents of the writing, and hence was acquitted of the graver offence of knowingly offering the insult.

Beating and maltreating natives seem to have been rather a favorite amusement with the officers of the army, if we may judge from the following remarks of the Court of Directors, dated 3rd March, 1829, on the trial of Cornet Courtny Charles Ferrers :—

"From this paragraph, and from your military letters of the 13th July, 1827 [para. 15], and 22nd Feb., 1828 [para. 16] we observe that Cornet Ferrers has been no less than four times since his arrival in India, in 1826, brought to trial by court-martial; that he has been twice sentenced to be dismissed the service, though the sentence was remitted, and that on more that one occasion, it was proved he had beaten and maltreated the natives in a most shameful and outrageous manner.

"We must express our strong disapprobation of the unjustifiable lenity of the sentence passed on Cornet Ferrers by the court-martial of which Lieut.-Col. Brodie was president, and our concurrence in the censure passed by the Commander-in-Chief on the proceedings of that court, and we desire that these our sentiments be published in General Orders to the army.

"In conformity with the resolution contained in our military letter of the 14th April, 1813, that we should 'dismiss from our service every officer who shall be proved to have been guilty of cruelty to any native, either by violently and illegally beating or otherwise maltreating him,' we now direct that Cornet Ferrers be discharged from our service and sent to England without delay."

It so happened that, pending the decision of the Hon. Court. Cornet Ferrers had been dismissed the service by the sentence of a fifth court-martial, assembled to try him for subsequent offences.

THE PRIVATE SOLDIER.

In an old and rather curious volume of travels in India, entitled "Account of the Trade in India, by Charles Lockyer," published in 1711, we find a notice of the "gun room crew," as the artillery men in the garrison at Madras were called in those days, with the rates of pay received by the different grades. "The garrison," he writes, "consists of about 250 European soldiers at ninety-one *fanams* (£1-1-9) per month, and 200 topasses or black mongrel Portuguese at fifty or fifty-two fanams a month. The gun room crew is about twenty experienced Europeans to manage the guns at 100 fanams per month. The captains are paid fourteen pagodas per month, ensigns ten pagodas, sergeants five pagodas and corporals the same pay as the gun room crew. Chief gunner of the inner fort fourteen pagodas; gunner of the outworks twelve pagodas; and their mates in proportion." These rates of pay appear to be sufficiently liberal, seeing that at that time the Governor of Madras had only £200 per annum salary, and £100 gratuity: the councillors had from £100 to £40 annum. Senior merchants drew £40; junior merchants £30; factors £15; and writers £5.

Garrison orders by the Governor-General, dated December 24, 1795.—The following copy of the 72nd para. of a letter from the Honorable Court of Directors, of the 8th July last, is directed to be published for the information of any boards that may hereafter be appointed to examine recruits from Europe:—

Para. 72nd—"Every precaution is taken to prevent improper recruits being sent out. After having been approved of by the Company's Inspector, the recruits are again examined by a Field Officer appointed by His Majesty, and such men only allowed to proceed as he approves; we therefore desire, that the boards be extremely cautious in their objections against the Company's troops.

The condition of the private soldier is better in India than in any other country. He is better paid there than elsewhere, and on the whole is well cared for. In India too, there is nearly always the great charm of active service either *in esse or in posse*. And moreover if a man is intelligent and steady, he has a chance of employment away from his regiment, which may place him in a position far above that to which he could, under ordinary circumstances, aspire at home. The Indian climate is the great drawback; but as more attention comes to be paid to habits of life adapted to the country the soldier's condition will, no doubt, improve in a sanitary point of view. Much has already been done to improve it, and his life is now far more pleasant, and more profitable to himself and to the state, than it used to be. The life of the soldier is, in fact, so valuable in India, that every measure is politic and useful, as well as humane, which tends to lengthen or improve it.

There is much difficulty, especially in India, where the men must remain within doors during the long hot days of the summer months, in providing sufficient and suitable occupation for thier leisure hours, when they are not on duty. The long dreary day is spent by them in listless idleness, unless, as too often happens, the attractions of the bazar prove too great for them, in which case disease and crime speedily bring them to the hospital or to the guard-room. From time to time various devices have been proposed for the amelioration of the condition of the soldier in this respect. At one of the stations in Upper India a few officers many years ago exerted themselves in establishing a society, for the purpose of affording soldiers an opportunity of self-improvement in various branches of education, and in the rudiments of science. "In a room in barracks appropriated for the purpose, lectures were given from time to time upon such subjects as were deemed best adapted to the capabilities and tastes of the men, and the result was that an interest in the society was evidently established among

them. The audience gradually increased, and the originators of the scheme had soon the satisfaction to see not a few soldiers, who had hitherto been constant frequenters of the canteen and the bazar, cease their visits to these places, and become amongst the most regular attendants at the classes that had been formed for mutual instruction."

In every regiment there is generally a regimental schoolmaster, and assistant schoolmaster, whose instruction the recruits are required to attend, and many others attend voluntarily. Also in most regiments there is a library, and reading room, to which all who can read generally subscribe, and to which the Government contributes. When we read the letters constantly published in newspapers, and written by non-commissioned officers and privates, it is impossible not to see that there must be well educated persons, of much information and good sense, who pass their time contentedly in barrack life. To them these libraries must be an unspeakable blessing.

Gardens, attached to the barracks, both afford a pleasant occupation and enable the men to provide a little variety in the shape of vegetables and fruit for their mess. Games and sports and athletic exercises of all kinds are also kept up in every station during the cold weather, and are encouraged by the officers, and much appreciated by the men. Theatricals also form a fund of amusement when out-of-door games cannot be indulged in.

While attached to his troop at Meerut (1843), Major Eyre originated what is believed to have been the first "Soldier's club" ever established in India. It had for its object the suppression of drunkenness by providing for the soldier, when off duty, the means of sober and suitable recreation and refreshment. For this purpose Eyre hired a house conveniently situated to the barracks, which with the aid of his brother officers, and of small monthly subscriptions from the members, he fitted up with suitable furniture, and supplied with books,

magazines and popular games; and where tea, coffee and other harmless beverages could be obtained when wanted. It soon became popular among the men, and contributed greatly to the reduction of crime amongst them. The value of such clubs has now been generally recognised, and they are common in every military station in India.

It would appear from the following order, that our European troops were *too well fed* at some stations—"It appearing (says the order under date 23rd November, 1827) from the proceedings of a special committee of experienced officers of His Majesty's and the Hon. Company's service, convened at Fort William, for the purpose of instituting arrangements for bettering the condition and promoting the comforts of the European soldiery, that the rations distributed at full batta stations so far exceed what is requisite as to prove in some respects injurious to the men, whilst at the half-batta stations the daily allowance of provisions is barely adequate for their support, the Governor-General in Council, at the recommendation of the committee, has been pleased to fix upon a medium of issue applicable to the circumstances of European troops in quarters at all stations under the Bengal presidency."

Government sanctioned the establishment of an experimental convalescent depot "in the hills bordering on the Deyrah Doon, to which," says an order, dated camp Jellalabad 24th December, 1827, "European soldiers may be sent for a change of climate during the hot season." Major Brutton of the 11th Light Dragoons, was appointed to the command of the detachment proceeding to the convalescent depot at "Musooree ka Tibba."

In an order dated 7th December, 1827, we read that the Honorable Court "have resolved that the system which prevails in His Majesty's service, of furnishing a Bible and Book of

Common Prayer to every soldier who can read shall be extended to the European branch of our army."

The barbarous punishment of the lash appears to have been inflicted to its fullest extent till the year 1833. We have fallen upon an instance where "one thousand lashes on the bare back" with the cat-of-nine-tails, were awarded by sentence of court-martial at Trichinopoly in November, 1814. The culprit was a private of the 84th Foot, and the charge, threatening to shoot his commanding officer. There is also an instance of another private of the same regiment being sentenced to *six months' solitary confinement* for furnishing the private mentioned in the first case, with a balled cartridge, in order that he might carry his threat into execution.

At Agra on the 8th November, 1828, a soldier of the 1st European regiment was brought to court-martial for having "whilst undergoing corporal punishment (1,000 lashes), awarded by the sentence of a general court-martial, and ordered to be carried into effect by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, turned round his head towards the commanding officer and adjutant of the regiment, and said "I will have blood for blood if I go to hell for it," &c. For this second offence, driven to its commission by the severity of the punishment, he is sentenced to twelve months' solitary confinement in the Agra fort, a punishment sufficient to drive the prisoner to insanity.

A parliamentary return shows that from 1831 to 1835 inclusive, the number of soldiers flogged was 1996, while of those on whom corporal punishment was inflicted more than once the number was 298. It was not until August, 1833 that a general order limited the punishment of the lash to the more serious crimes of mutiny, insubordination, offering violence to a superior, drunkenness on duty, sale of arms, accoutrements or necessaries, as well as for theft or other conduct of a disgraceful nature. In 1836 the award of a general court-martial was limited to 200, a district to 150, and a regimental

to 100 lashes. Before that date, the brutalising effects of excessive flogging in the army had begun to be perceived by the British public, and Parliament had warmly taken up the subject.

On the 25th June, 1828 a private of the name of Joyce, of the 38th Foot, was tried and convicted of attempting the life of one of the officers of his regiment, by presenting his piece at him, and drawing the trigger, when the priming burnt in the pan. He was sentenced to be shot. The man was at the time in a state of intoxication, and to prevent for the future the commission of similar crimes, the Commander-in-Chief (Lord Combermere) directed that " in all cases where a soldier may be discovered to have exceeded the bounds of sobriety, he may be placed in confinement and kept there until he is perfectly restored to reason."

In April, 1816 we find two instances where soldiers were sentenced to transportation to Botany Bay for desertion. These are the earliest cases we have seen of soldiers being sent to that convict settlement from India.

Desertion from the army would appear to have been very frequent. In one issue of the *Gazette*, that of the 11th April, 1816, we have courts-martial held on sixteen men who had deserted from their corps, some while on active service Four of these men were sentenced to receive 800 lashes each, and a sepoy 950 lashes.

In an order in 1793, the Governor-General notices that "a considerable number of the European soldiers are employed by individuals in different parts of the country, in distant stations, and in occupations incompatible with the duty of a soldier, and inconsistent with the character of a person receiving military pay from the Hon'ble Company; and being convinced that practice of permitting soldiers to be so employed is highly detrimental to the discipline of the corps from which the men have been withdrawn," His Excellency orders the discontinuance of the practice.

Widows of conductors were entitled to pensions from the Military Fund:—*General letter of the Honorable Court of Directors, dated 8th July*, 1795.—"As we find by your subsequent advices that you have come to a resolution of granting warrants to all conductors of ordnance not holding commissions; which resolution, for the reason stated in the proceedings of the Military Board, has met with our approbation, the widows of persons of this description are now become entitled to the pension from the Military Fund."

In instances where soldiers' wives become widows, and which are of very frequent occurrence, they know that the Government allowance will only be continued to them for six months after their husbands' death, and that at the expiration of that period one of two alternatives awaits them—either to be left utterly without the means of obtaining even the barest necessaries of life, or marry. Under such circumstances, love or regard for the object of their choice is considered to be by no means necessary: in fact there is too good reason to believe that when soldiers are affected with tedious illness, which from its nature appears likely to terminate fatally, the affectionate wives of their bosom are even then taking steps calculated to render their period of mourning and widowhood as short as circumstances will permit.

The children of soldiers obtain a pecuniary allowance from Government, but its conditions deserve a few remarks. Small as it is, they only receive it until they reach the mature age of fourteen years when the boys have no alternative but to enlist, unless, as sometimes happens, they obtain appenticeships in the Subordinate Medical Department. The girls, however, less fortunate than they, have only one of three alternatives—namely, to become wives, and in due time mothers, at an age when neither their bodily formation nor their mental development fit them for the functions, duties, and responsibilities they are called upon to perform; secondly, they have the alternative

of starving and dying of want—and thirdly, that sad and terrible resort of the abandoned of their sex, to minister to the depraved passions of the debauchee.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The allowances by the Court to widows of deceased officers in the Company's service, seem to have been very small in the earliest days of the Company's rule. In a despatch to the Court, dated August 10, 1748, we find the following:—"Mrs. Catherine Hamilton, relict of our late Commandant, petitioned us on the 19th June for an allowance for herself and family, which we took into consideration the 26th, and then ordered the Buxey to allow her the same as the widow of Major Hunt received, namely, Rs. 35 per mensem."

The first company of Bengal Artillery was raised in 1749. It consisted of one captain, one second captain, one captain-lieutenant and three lieutenant fireworkers; four sergeants, four corporals, three drummers, and one hundred gunners.

Rs. 416,450 was the amount of prize money divided among the captors of Chinsurah in July, 1781.

Three regiments of infantry were raised in England, in 1793, at the request of the Honorable Company for the eventual service of the Company in India, but to remain during the war that was then raging between England and France, "at the disposal of His Majesty's Government, to serve in Great Britain or Ireland, or in the Island of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney or Sark."

The British troops having been engaged in quelling a dangerous insurrection in Oude in the territories of the Nawab Vizier, the Nawab was "pleased to request that his thanks may be conveyed to them in public orders, and as a further reward for their important and beneficial services to him, he has presented the Resident at Lucknow Rupees eleven lakhs (Rs. 11,00,000) for, and in behalf of Government, with his earnest wish that the Honorable the Governor-General in Council will

accept the same and appropriate it as a donation to the army in such proportion as he may think fit." The wishes of the Nawab were duly carried out in 1795. In a subsequent notice we learn that in addition to the above handsome donation the Nawab Vizier presented the sum of one lakh of rupees to be divided among the widows of the commissioned officers who fell in the action.

The respective shares to the army from the above donation of His Excellency the Vizier were as follows:—

A colonel	Rs.	16,400	0	0
Lieutenant-colonel, surgeon-general and paymaster	,,	13,120	0	0
Major	,,	9,840	0	0
Captain, surgeon, commissary ordnance	,,	3,936	0	0
Lieutenant, assistant surgeon and gram agent	,,	2,624	0	0
Lieutenant fireworker ...	,,	1,968	0	0
Conductors of ordnance ...	,,	1312	0	0
European sergeants ...	,,	218	10	8
Do. privates	,,	109	5	4

Minutes of Council in the Military Department, May 22nd, 1795:—"Agreed at the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief that the allowance of three rupees per mensem, granted for each child belonging to the European soldiers of the Honorable Company's troops, be extended to those of the King's troops serving at the presidency."

Garrison Order, by the Governor-General, dated Fort William, May 27, 1795:—"The prisoners having represented that they are in want of new clothing, the town major is directed to supply them with such articles as they may immediately require, in conformity with the garrison orders of the 10th July, 1794."

The Commander-in-Chief proceeded to the upper stations of the army "on the public service" in the latter part of June,

1801, and the following escort was allowed to accompany him :—" A guard of one subadar, two havildars, two naicks, and fifty sepoys, from Barrackpore. The guard to be relieved by one of equal strength at the intermediate stations."

The Court of Directors, desirous of affording "every reasonable encouragement to the officers to establish regular regimental messes, is pleased to authorise the allowance of Sonat Rs. 150 per mensem," for all messes established by the general orders of the 8th May, 1806, "for each regiment of European cavalry or infantry in the service of His Majesty or the Hon'ble Company, when actually marching or in the field in which messes had been, or might afterwards be established, for the purpose of providing for all expenses attending the accommodation of those messes;" the same allowance to be drawn also when in cantonments. Sonat Rupees 120 were authorised "for each regiment of native cavalry and each battalion of native infantry" under similar circumstances.

The first notice of the use of *tatties* for European troops we have in an order by the Governor-General, dated 10th March, 1807, wherein His Excellency directs "that the number of tatties to be in future provided for each building be restricted to half the number of apertures (doors or windows) in such building: * * * * that no more than one bheesty and one cooly be passed for watering two tatties," &c. It would appear however that these conveniences had been used for years before, though we have not come upon any earlier notice of them.

A general relief of the troops serving under the presidency of Bengal was appointed to take place in the cold weather of 1809. This is the first intimation we have seen in the papers of a *General* relief of troops. His Majesty's 24th Dragoons and the 17th Foot, were ordered to proceed to *Meerut*, which now became a station for European troops instead of Secundrabad and Muttra.

The removal of the head quarters of the station of Chunar, from the fortress of Chunar to Secrole near Benares, took place in August, 1809.

"*General Orders by the Honorable the Vice-President in Council, Fort William, 12th September*, 1809. The Honorable the Vice-President in Council is placed to determine that only one tattie be in future allowed for a sergeant's bungalow. (Sd.) J. ADAM, Acting Secretary to Government, Military Department."

By an order by the Commander-in-Chief, dated 12th October, 1810, "Clubs and queues" were abolished in all ranks of the army, and "the hair is in future to be cut close to the neck; no powder to be worn on duty."

Twenty-four lads were taken by order of Government from the Upper and Lower Orphan Schools, in June, 1812, to serve as compounders and dressers; they were to receive a medical education in the Hospital; and had an opportunity given them of rising to be Sub-Assistant Surgeons in the Medical Department. Ten youths were placed in the General Hospital, Calcutta, ten at the garrison hospital at Chunar and four at the General Dispensary.

The Governor-General, in an order dated 25th July, 1812, authorised "a bounty of sixty-four sicca rupees to be paid to every foreigner (Frenchmen excepted), who may enlist in the Hon'ble Company's artillery or infantry for a term of five years."

The new barracks were completed at Dum-Dum in the middle of 1813, and occupied by troops in November.

In an order dated Fort William, 23rd September, 1813, Major-General Blair notices the inattention paid by officers to their dress in public:—"Major-General Blair having had occasion to notice the total inattention which has lately been paid by officers at the presidency to general orders on the subject of dress, he feels himself under the necessity of

enforcing the strictest obedience in future to the regulations of the service on this head, the neglect of which has not escaped the observation of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. The major-general will hold commanding officers of corps stationed at the presidency responsible for the dress of the officers attached to their respective battalions, and should any officer on leave of absence appear in public except in the uniform of his regiment or official rank, he shall immediately be ordered to quit the presidency without any reference to the business which may have brought him to Calcutta."

From the following order it would appear that some funny things were done in order to get over the trouble of accounting for stores belonging to the Honorable Company:—"We observe it stated," say the Court of Directors in a letter to the Indian Government, under date the 31st December, 1813, in the report of the 27th June above quoted, that the unserviceable musket barrels, bayonets and ramrods, had been thrown into the river, instead of having been brought on the arsenal books, and sold as unserviceable stores, having previously been rendered useless for all military purposes. As these articles are intrinsically of some value merely as unwrought iron, or steel, we direct that they in future be broken up and sold by public auction, for whatever can be obtained for them, in the state of rough metal only." Somebody must have been making a tidy little fortune by the articles said to have been thrown into the river.

The military authorities, as early as 1820, showed their sway over buildings within cantonment boundaries, *vide* the following announcement by the Military Board, under date 7th March:—"With reference to an advertisement which has appeared in the Calcutta journals for the disposal by lottery of certain estates, so described within the military cantonment of Cawnpore, the Military Board deem it fit to be notified, as a caution to the public, that the building materials so situated, can alone be disposed of or transferred by individuals; the

ground being the property of the state, and not alienable by such arrangement in any shape."

The Commander-in-Chief, having noticed the unmilitary dress in which some officers had indulged, issued an order under date 20th November, 1827, on the subject of these "fanciful deviations," in the following words :—"White jackets and white cravats are forbidden to be worn by an officer at any time out of quarters, and he is strictly prohibited from appearing publicly in any other dress than is authorised by the regulations of the service. Silk or crape jackets or trousers are also prohibited: broadcloth being the established material of which officers' clothing is to be made; all deviations from established regulation, whether in quality or fashion, are prohibited." * * * * "Should officers disregard these orders and appear again in white cotton jackets, or fancy clothing of any kind, the Commander-in-Chief will prohibit the shell jacket and forage cap being worn, and order them to appear at all times in the uniform established for the parade." A month after, this order was so far modified, that, "in consideration of the climate" officers of all arms were permitted (except when dressed for duty or on parade) "to wear white trousers in dress and undress throughout the year."

The Government sanctioned the hire of a house in an airy part of Chowringhee for the accommodation of sick officers who came to the presidency for the benefit of their health. The permission to visit Calcutta for this purpose was granted, except in special cases, from month, to month on the report of the medical officer in charge of the institution. The house that was chosen was situated at the corner of Middleton street,* leading into Park street. This sanitarium was discontinued from the 1st March, 1829, and all sick officers were ordered to be accommodated with quarters in Fort William, and to receive professional attendance from the medical staff of the garrison.

* Apparently Middleton *Row* is meant.

The canteen system was introduced into the Indian army by an order dated March 28, 1828.

The great gun taken at Bhurtpore, and presented to His Majesty by Lord Combermere, at the close of 1828, was placed by order of His Majesty in front of the barracks at Woolwich.

The Hon'ble the Court of Directors sanctioned the establishment of regimental schools in the different European regiments in their service in the early part of 1829, for the care and instruction of children of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and for the benefit of such of the men as might wish to avail themselves of the institution.

On the 31st March, 1830, an officer, Lieutenant K. (his name is not given) of the Queen's Royals at Poonah, started to walk nineteen miles in four hours for a wager of 1500 rupees. He accomplished the feat with fifty-five seconds to spare.

It may be interesting to learn that the great gun of Beejapore was fired in January, 1822, one hundred and fifty years since it had been discharged by Aurungzebe :—"The gun was on the south west bastion of the city of Palmyra in the Deccan; it was charged by order of the Raja with forty seers, (about 100 lbs. powder), and fired yesterday evening at sunset. The powder, from its coarse quality, threw forth an immense volume of smoke, which was truly grand, although the report was weak in comparison to what was expected, perhaps equal to that of a forty-two pounder. The gun shook the frame and rebounded on the wall without any injury. This circumstance excited a degree of sensation amongst the inhabitants (10,000); many had left their houses with their families, ten and fifteen miles; and every Bunyah shut [his] shop, retiring, from its walls. The muzzle of the gun has the figure of a lion's head, with an elephant walking into its mouth. The dimensions, inside two feet, and outside four and a half feet; its length twelve feet and a quarter; throughout inside chamber fourteen inches; diameter five feet."

CHAPTER XIV.

LAW AND JUSTICE.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COURTS.

A COURT, consisting of a mayor and aldermen was established in 1727, and administered British law to British subjects in a house built by Mr. Bourchier soon after the charter arrived, which was then called the Court House, and the remembrance of which still survives in the street, which after the lapse of more than a hundred an fifty years, is yet called Old Court House street. From the decision of the mayor and aldermen, an appeal lay to the President in Council, and the two bodies were thus kept in a state of constant activity and collision. The municipal, fiscal, civil and criminal affairs of the town, as far as the natives were concerned, were administered by a civilian, who was styled the *Zemindar*. He farmed out the monopolies; he collected the rents; and he decided all civil and criminal suits. In all actions for property an appeal lay from his award to the President. In capital cases, in which "the lash was inflicted till death," the confirmation of the sentence by the President was necessary. In all other cases, the investigation of the Zemindar was summary and his decision final. He had the power of fining, flogging and imprisoning. He was judge, magistrate and collector; and he was consequently the most important personage in the rising town. This office was always changed once, and sometimes thrice, in twelve months. He was never allowed to remain long enough in office to acquire any knowledge or experience of his duties. He was in almost every instance a total stranger to the native language; and to complete his helplessness, all the accounts were kept exclusively in the vernacular. His salary was 2,000 rupees a year with a

percentage on the farms, which may have given him half as much more. He was always involved in trade, from which he drew an income of ten times the value of his salary. Such was the municipal government of the town of Calcutta in 1745.

The East India Company was originally simply a company of merchants, empowered by a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1600, to trade to the East Indies. In 1661 they obtained authority from parliament to judge, according to the laws of England, all persons living under them in their settlements. By two subsequent charters, respectively granted in 1683 and 1686, the company was authorized to erect courts of justice for the trial of offences, committed both by sea and land, according to the English law, and the courts thereupon established, continued to exercise the powers assigned to them till the year 1765, when they were superseded by courts established under the Nazim of Bengal, which were superintended, though very imperfectly, by the English heads of factories. Further legislative powers were conferred by the charter of 1773. This charter declared the Governor-General in Council competent to make rules and regulations for the good order and civil government of the settlement of Fort William; and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court extended to all persons within the town of Calcutta, as well as to British subjects resident in any part of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

The Supreme Court, which was instituted in 1774, "to protect natives from oppression, and to give India the benefits of English law," is described by Mackintosh (writing in 1775) in the following trenchant style:—"The present mode of administering justice, under the sanction of a British Act of Parliament, in Bengal, is a subject which calls loudly for public attention and speedy relief. This dreadful evil threatens the extinction of the British power and property in India. Corruption hath usurped the sacred seat of justice, and shielded by the power of a venial government, hath held quiet possession

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of this station for six lingering years, without even the veil of hypocrisy to shade the horrors of oppression and savage violence."

The establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta introduced lawyers into the metropolis, to the great loss and sorrow of the natives. "Asiaticus" writes thus in 1774 of the lawyers:—"The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-Chief of the forces, will of course be appointed to all the posts of any emolument, and I must do those gentlemen the justice to observe, that, both in number and capacity they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth." Hartley House mentions—"No wonder lawyers return from this country rolling in wealth. Their fees are enormous; if you ask a single question on any affair you pay down your gold-mohur, and if he writes a letter of only three lines, twenty-eight rupees! I tremble at the idea of coming into their hands; for what must be the recoveries, to answer such immense charges! You must, however, be informed that the number of acting attornies on the court roll is restricted to twelve, who serve an articled clerkship of three years only, instead of five, as in England. The fee for making a will is in proportion to its length, from five goldmohurs upwards; and as to marriage articles I should imagine they would half ruin a man, and a process at law be the destruction of both parties. A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connections, and, having for a time complied with the humor of their company, from prudential motives, they become tainted and prosecute their bane from the impulses of inclination."

On the 15th July, 1797, in the House of Lords, the order of the day for the second reading of the India Judicature bill

having been moved and read, Mr. Rous was heard on the part of the East India Company against it. Mr. Rous stated "that the Company considered the present bill as a violation of the solemn compact entered into between the public and the Company on the renewal of the charter in 1793. That the extension of the courts of judicature was a departure from the statute of 1797; but that what most of all alarmed the Company was the institution of a Pension List for the judges, the pension to be granted by the Crown, though payable out of the Company's revenues, and at the end of a duration in India at so short a time as five years, if the servants of the Crown thought fit to grant them. Mr. Rous stated the period of the institution and existence of the Supreme Court of Judicature; and said, though the reason for limiting the judges to three could not be known to him, yet as it happened in consequence of the death of Sir William Jones, that only three judges had sat for the space of fifteen years together, there could be no objection to having only three judges on the bench of the Supreme Court; but the objection the East India Company felt was to the appropriation of the salary of the fourth judge to the payment of the pensions in question. He pointed out the manifest difference between the establishment of the judges in India and their establishments in England. A puisne judge in India had a salary of £6,000 a year, which was three times as much as all the emoluments of a puisne judge in Westminster Hall; and the supreme judge in India had a salary of £8,000 a year. It had been generally conceived, as for the sake of decorum, a judge should in some sort live a retired life, that the income of judges in India would, after a due time spent in the exercise and discharge of their duties in that country, not only be sufficient to enable them to return home with a moderate income, but fully competent to their comfort and support for the remainder of their lives. If, however, their Lordships should think it right to allow the clause to stand, as far as regarded pensions, the Company earnestly prayed it might

be altered; and instead of the grant of these pensions being at the will of the King's servants, that it might depend upon the address of either House of Parliament, which they conceived would secure them from the possibility of abuse." The measure was severely commented on at adjourned meetings of the India House, held on the 22nd and 28th June and 12th July, and in the Commons on 7th June.

The Calcutta Court of Requests was instituted in Calcutta on the 13th March, 1802. The jurisdiction of this court was limited to claims up to 100 rupees. In case the debtor was unable to pay the amount claimed, his goods were to be sold, and if the assets therefrom were not sufficient to meet the claim, the debtor was to be apprehended and conveyed to "gaol, there to remain until he or she shall perform such order or decree."

The Supreme Court at Madras received its charter as a new court of judicature on the 4th September, 1801.

SENTENCES.

From a *Gazette* of the 18th August, 1791, we learn that the sessions had just ended, and "that several culprits received sentence—upwards of fourteen were burnt in the hand and imprisoned, several were sentenced to stand in the pillory, and the rest acquitted." Also that "the Portuguese, who was convicted of stealing a valuable diamond ring from the shop of Tulloh and Co., was sentenced to be burnt in the hand, to be imprisoned for the term of one month, and then discharged, on finding sufficient security that he will quit the provinces."

On the 1st August, 1795, at the general gaol delivery in Calcutta, sentence of *death* was passed on six criminals convicted of burglary! Three men, who had been privates of the 3rd European Battalion, were burned in the hand, and sentenced to be imprisoned with hard labor in the House of Correction for two years, having been convicted of highway robbery, committed on the Esplanade. "Thomas Forresty, convicted of a misdemeanor, was sentenced to be privately whipped in the goal

of Calcutta, and confined one month. Lochurn, for stealing half a mohur and some silver ornaments, to be publicly whipped in the Burra Bazar, and kept to hard labor in the House of Correction for three months. Connoy Day, for privately stealing a mohur from the Bank of Hindostan, was sentenced to be confined in prison until the 10th instant, when he is to be conveyed to the south end of the Burra Bazar, and whipped to the north end, and from thence back again; and then to be carried to the House of Correction, there to be confined and kept to hard labor, until the 1st of July, 1796." Those in the seat of justice seems to have been humorous in their judgments.

At the Supreme Court, Calcutta, on the 10th December, 1802, the following sentences were passed:—Joseph Mari Leperrousse, for murder and piracy—death, and that his body should be afterwards hung in chains. Byjoo Mussalchy, robbery, —death! Pauly Stratty, Anunderam, and Catoul Kissen, for conspiracy, two years' imprisonment and to stand in the pillory. Ramsoonder Sircar, for perjury, to be transported for seven years! Ter Jacob Ter Petruse, an Armenian clergyman, for perjury, imprisonment for two years, and a fine of one rupee. Imaum bux Golyah, for robbery, transportation for life. Thomas Norman Morgan for forgery, two years' imprisonment to stand in the pillory and pay a fine of one rupee. Choochill, Buxoo, Russie and Nyamutullah, for robbery, transportation for seven years. The Chief Justice in passing sentence on Morgan for forgery, observed, "it was fortunate for the prisoner that the law which makes that crime *capital*, had not yet been extended to this country; but he had reason to believe that ere long it would."

On the 15th June, 1803, at the sessions of Oyer and Terminer at the Calcutta Supreme Court, "Thomas Shouldham, who had been convicted of uttering a treasury pass, knowing it to be forged, was then put to the bar to receive his sentence, which was that he should stand once in the pillory, be imprisoned

for the term of two years in the gaol of Calcutta, pay a fine to the king of five thousand sicca rupees, and be imprisoned until such fine be paid."

On the 13th June, 1840, a native woman was sentenced by the Supreme Court of Calcutta to "stand in the pillory, with a statement of her crime in the English and native languages, and afterwards to be transported to Prince of Wales' Island for seven years."

What will our readers think of the following sentences delivered in the Supreme Court of Calcutta on the 4th November, 1804:—"John Maclauchlin, found guilty of man-slaughter, to be fined one rupee, and imprisoned one month. Mahomed Tindal found guilty of man-slaughter, to be fined one rupee, and imprisoned one month. Mathew Farnes, found guilty of man-slaughter, to be fined one rupee, and imprisoned one month. Thomas Eldred Sherburne, for forgery, fined one rupee, to stand in the pillory on the 14th instant, and imprisoned two years. Radeca, otherwise Jesse, for stealing on the high seas, to be transported for seven years, and kept to hard labor during that period. Mritonjoy Coomar, for robbing the mint, ditto, ditto." Verily the crimes of forgery and theft were considered by the legislators of those days more heinous than that of man-slaughter.

On the 17th October, 1805, Henry Irwin, Paymaster of the 26th Foot, was put on his trial in the Bombay Court for the murder of Lieutenant John Young of the same regiment, in a duel which took place at Dohud on the frontiers of Guzerat on the 27th March. As there were many alleviating circumstances in the case, and it was proved that the wound in the leg had not been a mortal one, and that death ensued from the deceased's own act in removing the tourniquet and the consequent effusion of blood, the jury acquitted the accused.

On the 4th December, 1806, Alex. Moore and James Dempsey, two soldiers, were tried in the Supreme Court, the

former for the murder of Owen McInnes in a duel with muskets at Muthra in June; and the latter, for the murder of Charles Crouly (by boxing) at Allahabad—they were both convicted of man-slaughter. Lieutenant Ryan was tried for the murder of Lieutenant Corry in a duel at Cawnpore, and also convicted of manslaughter. James Campbell was tried for maiming a native woman at Chunar, found guilty and sentenced to death. In the above cases Moore was sentenced to one year's imprisonment and a fine of 20 rupees; Dempsey to one week's imprisonment and fine of one rupee; Ryan, a fine of Rs. 100 and imprisonment for six months. A Portuguese man and a native were also convicted of man-slaughter and sentenced to be burnt in the hand, imprisonment for one year and a fine.

A case was tried in the Calcutta Supreme Court on the 10th June, 1807, of forgery of a treasury bill for Rs. 2,500 by two natives of the name of Calleypershad Chattergee and Ramconnoy Ghose. This appears to have been the first instance where natives had tried their hands at forming types or plates whence to print bills, &c., similar to those issued by banks or treasuries. Hitherto they had been very skilful in altering figures on existing papers, but this was the first attempt at printing wholesale, and it was done in such an incomplete and awkward way, that it was at once detected. The accused were sentenced to "two years' imprisonment in the house of correction and to stand once in the pillory."

"Burning in the hand" seems to have been a very common and the usual sentence passed in the Supreme Court of Calcutta in 1812.

It was a custom in some cases also, when a man was sentenced to death, to appeal to "His Majesty in Council" as to whether the sentence should not be commuted. This practice subjected the culprits to close imprisonment in the condemned cells for a period of almost twelve months before a reply could be obtained. In one case where the judge passed

sentence of imprisonment on two European prisoners, named Moore and Knox, for man-slaughter, he concluded by ordering that during their imprisonment "the gaoler will use such vigilance that they do not communicate disgrace to the gaol."

At the Supreme Court in Calcutta, on the 22nd June, 1812, the following sentences were passed:—(1) Ensign Soady, convicted of man-slaughter, a fine of 200 rupees, and imprisonment for one year. (2) Bindabun Dobee, man-slaughter, to be burned in the hand, and imprisonment for one year. (3) Joseph Moore, and George Knox, man-slaughter, to be burned in the hand, and imprisonment for one year. (4) Andrew Masberg, for an assault with intent to commit murder, to be imprisoned for three years. (5) William Soubise, for an attempt to set fire to a bungalow, to be imprisoned for two years.

On the 2nd November, 1813, the following sentences were passed:—Privates Barry and Boyle of the 84th Foot, found guilty of highway robbery received sentence of death; Rodrigues, found guilty of forging pay abstracts, was sentenced to stand in the pillory, two years' imprisonment and a fine of 300 pagodas.

A bill for abolishing the punishment of the pillory was passed in July 1816.

On the 21st April, 1828, Fukrun Nissa Begum was brought up in the Supreme Court at Calcutta, on a charge of having caused the death of a slave woman in her service, by beating her with billets of fire-wood; three of her servants also assisting in the deed. The case was proved, and the prisoners were sentenced to be "imprisoned until twelve o'clock tomorrow, and then to be discharged." Against this lenient sentence the Begum petitioned. The petition represented that she viewed with such horror the disgrace of a public exposure in a court of justice, which was to her much worse than any punishment the court could inflict on her, that rather than submit to it she had pleaded *guilty*, in the hope that no

judgment would be passed upon her, but that the case might be sent home to His Majesty, to whom she would sue for a pardon. After hearing this petition, the Chief Justice said "as the law now stands, we think it proper that the judgment should be respited until the result is ascertained of the appeal to the King in Council, upon the Begum giving security to the court to appear, if required, on the second day of the second session, in the year 1829, to receive judgment."

PUNISHMENTS.

It was customary in those days to have executions in spots where four roads crossed, probably with a view to make the event more impressive. For instance, in a trial of a Manilla man for stabbing a native woman, tried in the Supreme Court on the 10th June, 1807, the prisoner was ordered "to be executed on Saturday, the 13th, at the four roads which meet at the head of Lall Bazar Street."

A novel scene was presented on the Hooghly off Calcutta on the 13th December, 1813, when five Portuguese were hanged for the wilful murder of Captain Stewart of the *Asia*. In order to render the benefits of such an example as extensive and salutary as possible among men of similar habits and modes of life, it was determined to rig up a gallows on the river. A platform was laid on two bhurs lashed together, on which the men were conveyed to the anchor boat on which the gallows was erected. The ships in the river were requested to send each a boat to attend the execution. "At an early hour," says the *Times*, "the preparative gun was fired, and the yellow flag was hoisted—the boats assembled in great numbers and the side of the river, as well as the decks of the neighboring ships and the tops of the adjoining houses were covered with spectators. A little before 9 o'clock the criminals arrived from the gaol under a guard of sepoys at the Old Fort Ghat, and were warped off on the platform to the anchor boat. There the yards had been braced up different ways so as to separate the yard arms

sufficiently; and as soon as the final preparations were finished, the gun was fired, about 20 minutes after 9, and the malefactors were run up at the same instant."

On the 24th January, 1828, executed a Fakeer who had murdered a child, named William Beauchamp at Howrah Ghaut, on the 24th of the previous July. The gallows was erected in the open space, called the "school ground." Several thousands of natives assembled to see this novel proceeding, but they made no attempt at rescuing the man from the hands of justice. The body was ordered to be gibbeted, and the iron cage to contain it was brought to the ground in a cart, which followed the criminal to the gallows.

The following description of an execution by hanging, we obtain from Lang's "Wanderings," and it represents the usual mode of carrying out these executions:—"When we had arrived at the place of execution, a field at some distance from the jail, in which had been erected a temporary gallows, I was surprised at not finding a mob. There was no one there but the culprit—who was eating as much rice as he could and as fast as he could—a couple of native policemen with drawn swords guarding him; the jailor, who was a Mahomedan, and a Bengalee writer, (clerk) who stood with pen, ink and paper in hand, ready to dot down the official particulars of the scene, preparatory to their being forwarded to Government according to a certain regulation. "Is every thing ready?" said the assistant magistrate to the jailor. "Yes, sahib," he replied; "but he has not yet finished his breakfast." "In one minute, sahib," cried the culprit, who overheard the conversation; and hastily taking into his stomach the few grains of rice that remained upon the dish, and drinking the remainder of his half gallon of milk, he sprang up and called out "tyear!" signifying "I am ready." He was then led up to the scaffold, the most primitive affair that I ever beheld. It was only a piece of wood-work resembling a large crock or crate in which a dinner service is packed for exportation. Upon

this crock, which was placed under the beam, he was requested to stand. Having obeyed this order, the rope was adjusted round his neck. The assistant magistrate then called out to him in Hindustanee—"Have you any thing to say." "Yes, sahib," was the reply. And he began a long story, false from beginning to end, but every word of which the Bengalee writer took down. He spoke, and with vehemence, for about thirty-five minutes when, having stopped, either finally, or to take breath, the assistant magistrate gave the signal to the jailor, by waving his hand. The crock was then pulled from under the culprit by the two policemen, and down dangled the culprit's body, the feet not more than eighteen inches from the ground."

DIFFICULTY OF OBTAINING JUSTICE.

To show the enormous expense attending the simplest action in the Supreme Court, we may instance the case of Dr. Bryce against Mr. Samuel Smith of the *Hurkaru* newspaper for libel. It lasted two years, and the defendant was adjudged to pay as damages *eight hundred rupees*. The plaintiff incurred a cost of *ten thousand rupees* to carry this case through. Had the plaintiff been a comparatively poor man, he would have been ruined—he would have gone out of court triumphantly cleared in his character, to go into jail, perhaps for life, from inability to pay his attorney's bill.

"A native being desirous, not long since," says the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 17th August, 1798, "to institute a suit in a court of justice, applied to an attorney, who informed him he was already engaged on behalf of his opponent; he, however, offered to recommend him to a friend, who would undertake his cause with equal readiness and ability, and gave him a note of recommendation to him. The cautious native carried the note to a person who could read English, and found it to contain the following admonition:—'Dear ——, I have killed *my* hog, do you kill *yours*.' The hint was not lost, though the admonition

missed its aim. The parties compromised their dispute, and the lawyers lost their fees."

Several instances can be mentioned where Calcutta Juries brought in "not guilty," when Europeans were defendants in cases of murder or maltreatment of natives. On the 10th June, 1812, Macdonald, the mate of a vessel (*the Hunter*) was tried in the Calcutta Supreme Court for "causing the death of one of his crew by tying him up during the whole of a cold night on a voyage to Botany Bay." Though the evidence was very clear, the Jury returned a verdict of "not guilty;" on which the Chief Justice justly remarked—"The gentlemen of the jury must certainly have discovered some reason for doubting the testimony of the witnesses, which did not occur to the court; and you therefore have escaped the punishment of man-slaughter which the court have not the smallest doubt but you deserve. I hope your escape wlll be a lesson for your future conduct; and that you will be advised to return to that humane and mild disposition which was your character six years ago. You may not probably meet with another jury, who will deal so mercifully with you. The punishment was illegal, it was cruel, it was brutal."

CHAPTER XV.

THE CALCUTTA PRESS.

EARLY NEWSPAPERS AND JOURNALS.

We shall give a few statistics of the press in India between the years 1780 and 1833; though the first newspaper was published in Calcutta anterior to 1774; it was called the *India Gazette*, an organ of the Government.

On the 29th January, 1780, was commenced the *Bengal Gazette*, the proprietor of which was Mr. M. Hickey.*

On the 6th April, 1785, was published by Messrs. Gordon and Hay the first number of the *Oriental Magazine* or *Calcutta Amusements*, a monthly.

On the 3rd October, 1791, the *Calcutta Magazine and Oriental Museum* saw the light. It was a monthly and published by Mr. White, at No. 51, Cossitollah street.

In the *India Gazette* of the 19th April, 1792, we have a strange medley of news, showing what a disturbed state matters were at the close of the preceding year on the continent of Europe, and in India at the beginning of the year under notice. In September there were in Paris commotions which preceded the revolution and the execution of Louis and the Bourbon family; commotions in Flanders; report of the trial on the Birmingham rioters in England; Lord Cornwallis' despatches regarding the taking of Bangalore and Seringapatam, and the signing of peace with Tippoo Sultan; winding up with the declaration of war against Spain by the Emperor of Morocco. Notices of all these events are contained in a single issue, and yet the editor of the *Gazette* says, that the "English papers brought by the *Prudentia* contain very little worth relating."

* Should be J. A. Hickey.

Verily those were piping times for the newspapers. Neither telegraphs nor semaphores existed in those days, and on the arrival of a ship from England, there was a regular race by the representatives of the Fourth Estate to obtain the latest English newspapers. "Fast" row boats were then used, which proceeded to Kedgeree and even farther in order to board the incoming vessel, and thus be the first to obtain the latest intelligence.

On the 1st of November, 1794, was published the first number of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*, by J. White, printer, No. 2, Weston Lane, Cossitollah. This journal, it would appear, was established for the purpose of giving the whole of the Indian news of the month in as condensed a form as possible for transmission to England; the pioneer in fact of the "overland summaries" which became so common on the establishment of the overland route.

The *Bengal Hircarrah* was ushered into existence on the 20th January, 1795, as a weekly paper, at the Oriental Star office.

On the 4th of October, 1795, was published the first number of a weekly newspaper, under the title of the *Indian Apollo*. The paper to appear every Sunday, from the Mirror Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road.

The Relator, a biweekly newspaper, is advertised to appear at Calcutta on the 4th April, 1799, and the following is the flourish with which the announcement of its appearance is heralded before the public:—

"TO THE PUBLIC.—It is an eventful period indeed, at which we solicit your patronage of a work, for the early and faithful communication of those events, which not only interest the feelings and occupy the attention of mankind, but astonish and terrify the world. When in the height of an universal war, NATURE seems to have allotted her *sea* for the theatre of the gallant and unexampled victories of BRITAIN; and FATE resigned the *land* to the sanguinary and immensurable ravages of FRANCE; when ANARCHY has supplanted ORDER; and REASON

fled the frenzy of INFIDELITY and CAPRICE; when the hue of *living manners* is changeable as the CHAMELION'S—and the new principles of *human actions* short lived as the EPHEMERON; not only the materials for periodical publication abound, but the vehicles for disseminating them are naturally multiplied. This has been the case in Calcutta; yet we presume to offer another NEWSPAPER to your attention, trusting it will possess equal merit with any contemporary print. As the professions of a stranger respecting himself and undertakings are both nugatory and fulsome, we decline making any; and should an indulgent PUBLIC sanction our attempt, we shall receive their approbation, with purer satisfaction, than if we had endeavoured to obtain it by arts which only partially delude the simple and infallibly disgust the sensible.

"The terms and manner of publishing are specified below. Should we succeed, the plan may be enlarged; if not, we shall retire without shame from a pursuit commenced without arrogance. We have chosen the title of THE RELATOR, and the following are its terms, &c., &c. Signed., JOHN HOWEL, *Junr., Editor.*"

The prospectus of the *Calcutta Journal* appears in the *Government Gazette* of September 1818. The newspaper was to occupy the place of the *Calcutta Gazette* and the *Morning Post*, the proprietors of which papers had agreed to sink those journals, the newspaper being published twice a week.

The *Calcutta Exchange Price Current* was commenced in September 1818.

The first number of the *Asiatic Magazine and Review, and Literary and Medical Miscellany*, was published in Calcutta in July 1818, at the Mirror Press.

In 1817 was published the *Friend of India* at Serampore.

The *Calcutta Journal* was on the 1st May, 1819, made a daily paper with the exception of Mondays and Thursdays, at a

charge of eight rupees a month. This is the first newspaper or periodical that professed to be illustrated. The number of engravings, however, did not exceed four a month, which were charged for separately at 8 annas each.

The second number of the *Asiatic Magazine* published at the *Bengal Hircarrah* office, No. 7, Post Office street, appeared on the 21st June, 1798. As a specimen of what the literature of Indian magazines was at that day, we append the contents of this number:—(1) Travels of a Native on Terra Incognita; (2) The Dabash, or Peregrinations and Exploits of Suamoy, a native of Hindostan; (3) Memoir of Antony Joseph Grosas, &c; (4) The Teares of the Press; (5) Anecdote of an elephant; (6) On the religious Ceremonies of the Hindus; (7) Speech of Peter Moore, Esquire, at a Court of Proprietors, &c.; (8) The Maid of the Moor; (9) Political Review, general intelligence, civil appointments, and domestic occurrences. The price of this magazine was—to subscribers sicca rupees *four* a number, and to non-subscribers *six!*

In a *Calcutta Gazette* of the 25th May, 1815, we find a Government notice stating that "the printing business of Government shall be transferred from the *Calcutta Gazette* press to the press established at the Military Orphan Society;" and "that a weekly paper will be published at the Society's Press from the commencement of the ensuing month, to be styled the *Government Gazette*." The *Calcutta Gazette*, which had been established in 1784, still continued to be printed.

On the 31st October, 1824, the *Weekly Gleaner* was published in Calcutta, as the prospectus stated, for "meeting the convenience of those gentlemen whose numerous avocations may not admit of their enjoying an attentive or undivided perusal of the daily newspapers, circulated throughout Calcutta and its environs, and particularly for those residing in the mofussil, who may not have an opportunity of seeing all the

papers, and who can, *for a trifling sum*, obtain the *news of the whole week*."

The *John Bull in the East* was published on the 2nd of July, 1821, at the "Hindostanee Press." James Mackenzie was the editor.

"Proposals for publishing a new weekly print, to be entitled the *Calcutta Courier*," are advertised in the papers. The first number to appear on the 6th May, 1827. The publishers were "Messrs. Hollingbery and Knelen, No. 3, Meera Jany Gully, Calcutta."

We have an account, in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1827, of a portion of the newspaper press of Calcutta, which we shall summarise briefly. The *Bengal Hurkaru* was the leading journal, as the oldest established of those then in existence in Bengal. Its influence on public opinion was however not very great, as its opinions were constantly changing. The *India Gazette* was a paper of established reputation, its circulation was extensive, and its opinions solid and influential. The *Government Gazette*, from its official connection with authority, was necessarily precluded from independent discussion on passing events; but its statements were relied upon with more faith than those contained in the other journals, and in its information on subjects of science and literature it was greatly valued. The *Chronicle* had been only recently established, and was conducted on the principles that distinguished the late *Calcutta Journal* (of which Mr. Buckingham, who was summarily deported, had been the editor) and advocated a free press and colonization with zeal and assiduity.

A periodical under the name of the *Kaleidoscope* appeared in August 1829, in Calcutta.

In the same year appeared the first number of the *Bengal Annual*.

The *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer* began publication as a monthly magazine in 1829.

The *Calcutta Christian Observer* about the same time.

On the 25th June, 1790, was published the first number of the *Bombay Gazette*, "by authority." It was then a weekly publication.

The *Calcutta Literary Gazette*, under the editorial management of Captain D. L. Richardson appeared in 1825.

A daily paper under the title of the *East Indian* was commenced in Calcutta on the 1st June, 1831, conducted by Mr. Derozio,* an East Indian by birth.

A good many newspapers and periodicals have been started in Calcutta of late, but it is doubtful whether at the present moment there are as many English publications of this sort as existed fifty years ago in that city. From an article in the *Calcutta Quarterly Magazine* for 1833, written by the editor of the *John Bull*, who, we suppose, must have been Mr. J. H. Stocqueler, we take the following enumeration of journals, &c :—

Daily.—Bengal Hurkaru, India Gazette, Calcutta Courier, John Bull.

Tri-weekly.—India Gazette, Bengal Chronicle and Indian Register.

Half-weekly.—Calcutta Courier, and Calcutta Gazette.

Weekly.—Literary Gazette, Oriental Observer, Bengal Herald, Reformer, Philanthropist, Enquirer, Gyananeshun, Sumachar Durpun.

Monthly.—Calcutta Monthly Journal, Bengal Sporting Magazine, Christian Intelligencer, and Christian Observer.

Alternate Months.—East Indian United Service Journal.

Quarterly.—Calcutta Magazine and Review, Bengal Army List.

* H. L. V. Derozio, the well-known Eurasian Poet and Teacher.

The above list contains a goodly number of organs for the literary gratification of our Anglo-Indian ancestors. The oldest of these was the *India Gazette*, which seems at first to have been the official organ of Government. Originally a weekly paper, in 1822 it appeared twice, and in 1830 thrice, a week, shortly after this date issuing a daily edition. Its politics, we learn, were "not merely strongly Whiggish" but "approached to the Radical party," and it was distinguished for its general 'gentlemanlikeism.' It entered "largely upon the consideration of questions connected with the government of the country, undeterred by any fear of the displeasure of authority or any anxiety for the applause of the multitude." Its "literary taste" was, we further learn, "severe." Next in age came the *Bengal Hurkaru*. A weekly journal in 1795, when it first appeared; in 1819 it blossomed into a 'daily,' and in 1824, on the death of its rival the *Calcutta Journal*, the censorship of the press established by Lord Wellesley having been removed, "took up a lofty position as the advocate of free discussion, colonization, the education of the natives, and many other popular measures."

The *Calcutta Courier* was up to the year 1831 the *Calcutta Government Gazette*, and the verdict passed on it was that "it lacks dignity;—where commerce, steam, or figures are concerned, the leaders of the *Courier* are able and accurate; but in treating political or local questions of moment, they are frequently charged with flippancy, dulness, or self-sufficiency."

The youngest of the daily papers in 1833 was the *John Bull*, established in 1821 as the *John Bull of the East*. Its conductor declared that it "arose amid the storms and contentions in society which the *Calcutta Journal* was engendering; and it came professedly as an antidote to the poison disseminated by that print." This paper, we are told, "maintained its popularity by great attention to its intelligence department, and an adherence to Tory and Anglo-Indian conservancy politics

until 1829," when from various causes it rapidly declined in circulation and must have expired had it not passed in 1833 into the hands of Mr. Stocqueler. The change was a violent one—no less than a complete transition from Tory to Whig politics, but it was justified by its success, and in the following year its title was changed to that of the *Englishman*.

Of the other journals it is not necessary to say much. The *Bengal Chronicle* was but a reprint of the best articles in the *Hurkaru*, with which paper the *Bengal Herald* was also closely connected. The *Indian Register* was "an injudicious attempt on the part of the East Indians to possess a journal exclusively their own." The *Philanthropist* and *Enquirer* were religious papers, the editor of the latter "in the fervour of his zeal for Christianity" circulating 100 copies at his own expense. The *Reformer* and *Gyananeshun* dealt with local questions of all kinds, the latter being printed half in English and half in Bengalee. The *Sporting Magazine* was conducted by the editor of the *John Bull*.

LIGHT LITERATURE.

On the 27th January, 1785, was published, "printed in the manner of the *Bath Guide*, and embellished with copper plates, *The Indian Guide*, or Journal of a Voyage to the East Indies; in a series of Political Epistles to her mother from Miss Emily Brittle."

We have two proposals in 1795, for publishing works on India, which was a significant sign of the times; people who had travelled were now beginning to put the result of their eyes and ears on paper, and transmitting their knowledge of India by means of type to people at home, who were supremely ignorant of every thing relating to the country and its inhabitants. The two advertisements to which we allude, are—(1) "Proposal for the publication of a comedy, in five acts, called *The Mirror*, the scene of which is laid in Calcutta;" and (2) "Proposal for publishing *The Indian Traveller*, in

three volumes by Mr. Sonnerat, Commissary General of the French navy." Each volume cost two gold mohurs,—rather a valuable work if we are to assess it by the price, but everything in those days was "costly and precious."

[Advt.] "*In the Press, and speedily will be published.* [Price only one gold mohur.] THE BEVY OF CALCUTTA BEAUX. (Of a proper size, to be bound up with the Bevy of Beauties) dedicated to the elegant though unknown author of the * * * *

> The Beaux I sing, who left fair London's town,
> (Done up by fate !) to parry fortune's frown,
> With shining Siccas, visit Indian shores
> In their mind's greedy eye grasping Calcutta crores."

In May 1821 was published in Calcutta "Shigràmpo," or "the Life and Adventures of a Cadet, a Hudrastic poem, in 32 cantos, addressed to the Honorable the Court of Directors."

SCIENTIFIC AND USEFUL.

Professor Gilchrist published his Oordoo Dictionary in Calcutta in 1787.

On the 23rd April, 1789, appears an advertisement headed "A Card," announcing "the humble request of several natives of Bengal:"—"We humbly beseech any gentlemen will be so good to us as to take the trouble of making a Bengal Grammar and Dictionary, in which we hope to find all the common Bengal country words made into English. By this means we shall be enabled to recommend ourselves to the English Government and understand their orders; this favor will be gratefully remembered by us and our posterity for ever."

"An English Grammar, in Persian and Bengali," by Dr. Mackinnon, was advertised for early publication at the Hon'ble Company's Press, in Calcutta.—23rd September, 1790.

Francis Gladwin publishes (1793) an English translation of a Materia Medica, entitled Ulfaz Udwiyeh, compiled by

Nouredeen Mohomed Abdul, Lah Shirazy, physician to the Emperor Shahjehan. Price two gold mohurs.

The following books published by Mr. Gladwin, are advertised for sale:—"Persian Moonshee, price 60 Sa. Rs.; Dictionary of Mohammedan Law, Rs. 30; System of Revenue Accounts, Rs. 30; Dissertations on the Rhetorick, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians, Rs. 30; Ulfaz Udwiyeh, a medical dictionary, Rs. 30; English and Persian Vocabulary, Rs. 16; Tooteenamah, Rs. 16." Verily the cost of printing must have been great, or authors and publishers wanted to make their money fast.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee language, first volume, was published at the end of October 1815.

On the 29th November, 1792, Mr. Baillie, Superintendent of the Free School, informs the public that the Plan of Calcutta is ready for delivery. "He regrets that many unforeseen though unavoidable incidents have greatly retarded the publication, and particularly in waiting many months in the expectation that the streets in the native part of the town would have received new names as those in the European quarter have lately done." This plan, which was 33 inches by 14, points out all the streets, lanes, ghauts, &c. "The public buildings are also particularly distinguished, though from the smallness of the scale, it was found impracticable to lay down with any degree of distinctness every individual private house with its office, as they are laid down in the original" (from which this had been reduced,) "which is on a scale of about 26½ inches to a mile, whereas the scale of the reduced copy is little more than 6½ inches to a mile." Price 25 sicca rupees mounted on roller.

A "General Military Register of the Bengal Establishment from the year 1760 to 1795" is advertised as being in the Press and to be issued, in 1795, at one gold mohur a copy. This was virtually the first *Bengal Army List*, as it contained "a view of the military establishment, as it stood in the year 1760, and the

names of all the officers that have been admitted since that time alphabetically arranged under the respective heads of Infantry, Artillery, Engineers and Surgeons, showing in separate columns, the dates of their appointment, whether in Europe or in India, dates of promotion through all the ranks of the Army—resignations, readmissions, dismissions and restorations, together with casualties, and remarks, mentioning the times and places of their decease, &c., &c., as far as can be ascertained from the official records of the Military Department." Mr. White was the author, and Mr. Thomas Livingstone, at the Mirror Press, No. 158, Chitpore Road, was the publisher. The advertiser comments on the quality of the work he announces as follows:—"It is unnecessary to comment on the utility of a work exhibiting in a compendious form a complete view of the Bengal Army, from the earliest records to the present time. The historian and the antiquary will find it an useful assistant in their respective departments; and individuals in general, who may be desirous of ascertaining the fate of their friends, relations and acquaintances, will be enabled from such a register, to gratify their curiosity by the most simple and ready reference."

"Thoughts on Duelling" is advertised as being (in 1793) about to be printed, and subscriptions for the work are said to be received at "the Library"—a public library probably. Of the whereabouts of this building we have not been able to find any trace. There must have been a library previous to this time, as we find that on the 30th of March, 1792, the books belonging to "the late Calcutta Circulating Library" were sold at the *new* Court House.

The publication "by authority of the Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company," of Symes' "Embassy to the Kingdom of Ava," is announced (August 22, 1799) at a price of fifty sa. rupees per copy. Mr. Symes was sent by the Governor-General of India in the year 1795, to negociate a

treaty of amity and commerce with the sovereign of Ava, "an empire, imperfectly known, though important and extensive."

Dr. Patrick Russell's "Account of Indian Serpents, collected on the coast of Coromandel, giving an exact description, illustrated with a drawing, highly colored, of each species, together with experiments and remarks on their several poisons," is advertised for sale at thirty-five sicca rupees a copy. Also "The third number of Drawings of Indian Plants, by Dr. Roxburgh," price twelve sicca rupees.

Edward Scott Waring advertises his forthcoming work, a History of the Mahrattas, to which is prefixed a History of the Deccan, from A. D. 1000. Subscription, fifty rupees.

The "Mohumadan Law of Inheritance" was published by Sir William Jones at sixteen sicca rupees a copy, the proceeds from the sale of which he generously devoted to the aid of insolvent debtors. We do not suppose the proceeds could have gone a great way towards the help of these poor men, unless in those palmy days there were very few debtors in the jail. It must be recollected, however, that there were no bankruptcy courts in 1792, and prisoners for debt languished for years in the jail, and some even died without being able to get themselves relieved. Sir William Jones' help, therefore, was very commendable.

Captain William Francklin advertises the publication of his "History of Shah Aulum" (1798.)

"With the approbation and permission of Earl Cornwallis, Lieutenant Colebrooke proposes to publish by subscription twelve views of the most remarkable forts and places in the Mysore country, from drawings taken on the spot." Subscription of each set, one hundred and twenty Arcot rupees.

George Forster, of the Civil Service, announces the early appearance of the first volume of his "Journey from Bengal to England through the northern part of India, Kashmire,

Afghanistan, and Persia, and into Russia by the Caspian Sea; sketches of Hindoo mythology, and an abbreviated history of the Rohillas, Shujah-ud-dowlah and the Sikhs." Price, twenty-five sicca rupees.

The prospectus appears in 1803, of a plan for the publication of the Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas, who by extraordinary talents and enterprize, rose from an obscure situation to the rank of a general in the service of the native powers. This work was published by the authority of His Excellency the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General and Captain-General in India, &c., &c., by William Francklin, Captain of Infantry. Subscription, fifty rupees.

The "Oriental Obituary, or a record to perpetuate the memory of the Dead, being an impartial compilation from monumental inscriptions of the tombs of those persons, whose ashes are deposited in this remote part of the world," is advertised for sale at sa. Rs. eight. The compiler of these selections is in possession of a copy of this work. Messrs. Holmes and Co., undertakers in Calcutta, many years afterwards, published a more complete Register under the same title,* much of the information in which was obtained from the work noted above, which was published in 1809.

Grace's Code of Bengal Military Regulations is advertised as for sale at the *Calcutta Gazette* Press, in July 1810, at 50 Rupees per copy.

We have in the *Asiatic Journal* of June 1829, a review of a work then just published, entitled "The Bengalee; or Sketches of Society and Manners in the East;" we reproduce the notice of it from the *Journal* above named:—"It is to be regretted that we have so few of these lively descriptions of "Life as it is" in India. Ably delineated pictures of Anglo-Indian manners, communicated in the convenient vehicle of a well-constructed tale, such, for example, as *Hajji Baba*, which

* The *Bengal Obituary*, 1848.

so accurately pourtrays the manners of Persia, would tend materially to lessen the hitherto unconquerable repugnance of the public taste to oriental topics. A work of this nature we have just seen, which exhibits some lively and agreeable pictures of society among the various classes of Englishmen resident in the East. The work is of a miscellaneous character, consisting of tales, poetry, characters, &c., connected loosely together by a narrative of the author's supposed history, from his arrival in India, at the close of the last century till his return to England, on receiving a hint from the *cholera morbus.*

"He began his career as a lover; the deep blue eyes of a certain Lucinda captivated his soul; be breathed his passion, and was told he must have made a mistake. His disappointment made him first a misanthrope; he was invited to join a *Jawab club* (of rejected suitors); he foreswore beef, and became almost a convert to Hindooism. From this fit of abstraction he was rescued by witnessing a hurricane on the Ganges, when a pinnace was exposed to the danger of being engulphed in the rapid stream; but by the *Bengalee's* assistance she was secured, with her passengers, one of whom, as might be expected, was the identical blue-eyed damsel, now a wife and a mother. Such is the author's history."

This amusing volume was the production of Captain H. B. Henderson, of the Bengal Army.

[Advt.] "Sheet Almanac for the year 1785, particularly adapted for Calcutta, containing the month and week days, holidays, sun and moon's rising and setting, time of highwater at Calcutta and a table showing the time of highwater at the following places throughout the year, viz., Pointjelly, Fulta, Culpee, Kedgeree, Indialee, Eastern and Western Braces; also a table of the Kings and Queens of Great Britain, a table of Remarkable Events since the creation, and three tables and examples for reducing Sicca Rupees into Arcot, Arcot into Sicca, and Sicca into current."

Mr. Mackay advertises the publication of the "Indian Calendar, containing lists of the civil and military servants, on the Bengal Establishment," to which was attached "the English, Mahomedan and Hindoo Almanack." Price, ten sicca rupees. November 1787.

The "British India Almanack" is advertised to be published at the "World" press, 1793, at a price of four rupees a copy; also a "Sheet Almanac," at three rupees.

The first volume of the Calcutta Annual Directory and Calendar was published in 1801.*

An advertisement appears on the 12th July, 1804, for printing a "Monthly Directory, or Civil and Military List of Bengal"—this was to be compiled from *official documents*. The price of the work was two rupees per mensem.

The "original" Calcutta Directory was published first in 1799, at the Morning Post office.

VERNACULAR PRESS.

The most ancient specimen of printing in Bengalee, that we have, is Halhed's Grammar, printed at Hooghly in 1778. Halhed was so remarkable for his proficiency in colloquial Bengalee, that he was known when disguised in a native dress to pass as a Bengalee in assemblies of Hindoos. The types for the grammar were prepared by the hands of Sir C. Wilkins, who by his perseverance amid many difficulties, deserves the title of the Caxton of Bengal. He instructed a native blacksmith, named Panchanan (a very illustrative name) in type-cutting, and all the native knowledge of type-cutting was derived from him. One of the earliest works, printed in Bengalee, was Carey's translation of the New Testament, published in 1801. The life of Raja Pratapaditya, "the last King of Sagur," published in 1801, at Serampore, was one of the first works written in Bengalee prose.

* *The Bengal Kalendar and Register* appeared a few years before that.

The first Bengalee newspaper, that broke in on the slumber of ages, and roused the natives from the torpor of selfishness, was the *Durpun* of Serampore, which began its career on the 23rd May, 1818. The Marquis of Hastings, instead of yielding to the imaginary fears of enemies to a free press, or continuing the previous policy of government by withholding political knowledge from the people, gave every aid to the *Durpun*. Under the regime of the Marquis the first impulse was given to the vernacular newspaper press. He himself afforded every encouragement to native education as he was not one of those who thought the safety of British India depended on keeping the natives immersed in ignorance. He was a man that did not shrink, in 1816, when addressing the students of Fort William College, from avowing the noble sentiment—"It is human—it is generous to protect the feeble; it is meritorious to redress the injured; but it is godlike bounty to bestow expansion of intellect, to infuse the Promethean spark into the statue, and waken it into a man." On the publication of the first number of the *Durpun*, the Marquis wrote a letter with his own hand to the editor, expressing his entire approval of the paper. The *Durpun* had a long life; we believe it existed for fully thirty years, and carried out the principles on which it started throughout its career.

Rammohun Roy commenced in 1821 a Bengalee periodical, called the *Brahmanical Magazine;* "its career was rapid, fiery, meteoric; and both from want of solid substance, and through excess of inflammation, it soon exploded and disappeared."

Almanacs form a class of works that were compiled at an early period in Bengalee. Previous to 1820, these were in manuscript, but were commenced in that year to be printed. The Hindoo Almanac for 1825 was printed at Agardwip, where the first press was established that was conducted by natives.

The *Chundrika* newspaper started in 1821; it was the consistent advocate of thorough-going Hindoo orthodoxy.

The *Kaumadee* newspaper was published in 1823; it was the organ of Rammohun Roy, and was designed to counteract the influence of the *Chundrika*.

The *Banga Dut* commenced in 1829, under the management of Mr. R. Martin, Dwarkanath Tagore, Prosonno Coomar Tagore, and Rammohun Roy.

We have thought it necessary to notice these first productions of the Bengalee newspapers. They increased rapidly in numbers; so that in 1830, there were published in Calcutta sixteen newspapers; of which three were dailies, one tri-weekly, two bi-weekly, seven weekly, two bi-monthly, and one monthly. The number of subscribers to these various publications was stated to be about 20,000.

In April 1792, was published a Descriptive Poem by Calidas—*The Seasons*—in the original Sanskrit. The first book that had ever been printed in that language. Price 10 sicca rupees.

With reference to the disposition of the Court of Directors to encourage Indian literature, as intimated in their despatch of the 25th May, 1798, and the collection and preservation of oriental manuscripts and publications, the Court now intimated (19th June, 1806) "that the apartments for the oriental library being completed according to our intentions, have been placed under the charge of Mr. Charles Wilkins, formerly of our civil service in Bengal, and that a considerable number of manuscripts, and printed books on oriental subjects, with objects of natural history and curiosity, have already been placed in it, among which are many valuable presents from individuals and public bodies in this country." The public in India were invited by the Governor-General to transmit "whatever books in any of the Asiatic languages or other articles coming within the object of the Hon'ble Court's

collection," through the Indian government as presentations to the Library and Museum in Leadenhall Street.

The first number of a new periodical paper under the title of *The Vakeel*, is advertised to appear on New Year's Day, 1813, from the Telegraph office, Tank Square, to be continued on the 1st and 15th of each month.

A native newspaper, published in the Persian language and under the title of the *Shems-al-Akhbar*, terminated its career in 1827, the editor having discovered that he had got too far before "the age," to realize his visionary dreams of improving and enlightening his countrymen, or even to earn *curry-bhat* by his vocation. "Be it known to all men," says he—"that from the time this paper, the *Shems-al-Akhbar*, was established by me, to the present day, which is now about five years, I have gained nothing by it except vexation and disappointment, notwithstanding what idle and ignorant babblers may please to assert. The inability of the public in the present day to appreciate desert, and their indifference to the exhausting and painful exertions made in their cause, verify the verse: 'I have consumed, and my flames have not been seen; like the lamps in a moonlight night, I have burnt away unheeded.' It is time, therefore, to desist, and, withdrawing my hand from all further concern with this paper, I have determined to repose on the couch of conclusion."

The *Megha Duta or Cloud Messenger*, a poem in the Sanskrit language, with a translation into Enlish verse, by Horace Hayman Wilson, was published at the close of 1813. Price Sa. Rs. 16.

In the early part of 1831, a weekly paper, edited by natives, and entitled the *Reformer*, was started in Calcutta. We copy the editor's "address to our countrymen," which is unique, and shows the state of education then prevalent among the natives, and how ready they were to take advantage of the liberty which the fourth estate enjoyed under the government of Lord

William Bentinck. The "address to our countrymen," appears in No. 2 of the *Reformer* in 1831:—

"It is indeed gratifying to my feelings to observe, that in proportion as our understandings expand, as our feelings take the right course, and as our minds shake off the shackles of ignorance and superstition, means are taken by those to whose zeal in this good cause the native community are not a little indebted for raising them towards the meridian of all that is good and great. Whatever may be the opinion of those who advocate the continuance of the state of things as they are, there will come a time when prejudice, however deep and ramified its roots are reckoned to be, will droop, and eventually wither away before the benign radiance of liberty and truth.

"It is not on a mere theoretical presumption that we raise this great and noble fabric of what must be estimated the only means of happiness to mankind. The influence of liberty and truth has spread and is spreading far and wide, and nothing can check its course. There was a time when the natives of this country were looked upon as a race of unprincipled and ignorant people, void of all the qualities that separate the human from the brute creation. But look at the contrast now. Is it possible that at the present day an impeachment of such a dark character will be allowed to bear the slightest colour of truth?

"The retrospect is indeed sad—pitiable; but we have relinquished the notions that had made it so. We are, as it were, regenerated in the light and by the influence of principles, that testify the truth of our being made after the image of our Maker. Our ideas do not range now on the mere surface of things. We have commenced probing, and will probe on, till we discover that which will make us feel we are men in common with others, and, like them, capable of being good, great, and noble. We have been sufficiently degraded and despised, and will no longer bear the stigma. We cast off prejudice, and all

its concomitants as objects abhorrent to the principles which are calculated to ennoble us before the world."

"Assisted by the light of reason, we have the gladdening prospect before us, of soon coming to that standard of civilization, which has established the prosperity of the European nations. Let us then, my countrymen, pursue with diligence and care, the track laid down by these glorious nations. Let us follow the ensign of liberty and truth, and, emulating their wisdom and their virtues, be in our turn the guiding needle to those who are blinded by the gloom of ignorance and superstition."

BENGALEE LITERATURE.

Surendra Krishna Dutt gives us in the *Bengal Magazine* an account of the rise and progress of Bengalee literature, which we have appropriated with some alterations.

Bengalee literature commenced at about the same time with that of England; and the earliest Indian writers appeared just when Chaucer and Gower were writing in England. But while, owing to the early introduction of the art of printing in England, we are acquainted with the main facts connected with the rise and progress of English literature, and the transitions it has undergone, we are almost completely in the dark as regards the early stages of Bengalee literature; since the art of printing has been made use of in Bengal only in modern times. We know nothing of the lives of ancient authors; and the only lights that we get in our enquiry consist of small passages in their own writings which have come down to us in a mutilated and interpolated form. As regards the languages, a chronological review of the works of the Bengalee writers slowly leads us from a crude form of the Hindee, which prevailed in Bengal in the 14th century, to the polished Bengalee of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

Vidyapati is the name of the earliest poet,—the Chaucer of Bengal. Only a few of his songs have come down to us.

He wrote about 1389 A. D., and his language is a crude form of Hindee. From his writings it appears that he was a follower of Krishna. Contemporaneously with him there lived another poet—Chandi Das. Of him we know nothing, except that his name was mentioned by Vidyapati in his songs. He too was a follower of Krishna.

From the earliest times the literature of Bengal may be appropriately divided into two classes, *viz.*, the Tantrika and the Bhagavat;—the former school of poets being the worshippers of Sakti, and the latter the worshippers of Krishna. The Tantrikas worshipped Sakti, *i. e.*, a female representation of the Creative Power, but the worship degenerated into debauchery, and the works and lives of the Tantrikas of later days are characterized by lewdness and immorality. The Bhagvat school began long before the time of Chaitanya, but that great reformer swelled the tide of protests against Tantrika morality, and from his time the Vaishnava religion gained strength.

The history of Bengalee literature is lost in confusion for over a hundred years after the time of Vidyapati, and all that we can discover are a few glimmering stars twinkling in the distance of time. Thus the dark age of Bengalee literature corresponds with the dark age of English literature, both occupying the entire 15th century of the Christian era. About the beginning of the 16th century when Luther was thundering in Europe, Chaitanya began his work of reformation in Bengal, and the literature of his period presents us with a mass of *Kirtans* or songs of praise of Krishna. It was at this period that Krishna Dass Kaviraj wrote the *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, or the nectar of the life of Chaitanya. The language of this book is comparatively free from the Hindee element, and the work describes with sincere eulogium the work of the great reformer.

The bright reign of Elizabeth in England was contemporaneous with the gorgeous reign of Akbar in India, and the

causes which led to activity of thought and action in England at this period operated at the same time at which the wholesome reforms brought about by Todar Mal induced a similar activity of the intellect in Bengal. To complete our comparison, we need only mention that Kirtibas and Kasiram Das—the two poets whose names are most widely known and dearly cherished through the length and breadth of Bengal—wrote precisely at the times when Shakespeare and Milton wrote in England, respectively.

On the life and acts of Kirtibas we have a very meagre account. He was born in Foolia, a village near Santipur in the classic soil of Nuddea; and he describes himself as the grandson of Murari Ojah, a well-known exorcist. He flourished at the end of the 16th century, and his great work, as everybody knows, is the translation of the Ramayana from the Sanskrit. We are told, however, that he did not know Sanskrit, and that he gleaned the story from the *speakers* or minstrels who, from a very remote period, use to chant and explain mythological stories from the Sanskrit to the assembled people. The language of Kirtibas's version of the Ramayana is almost entirely free from the Hindee element, and is simple and easy, and void of art. At the same time it displays graphic power of description as well as tenderness and pathos.

It was at this time that the Bengalee language was undergoing a great change. The great Akbar, with the intention of consolidating his empire, introduced the system of bestowing responsible posts on the Hindu inhabitants of Bengal, and this necessitated the cultivation of the Persian tongue by the native Hindus. Todar Mal's new system of land administration also flooded the Bengalee tongue with Persian words, and up to this time the language of the Court and the language of the zemindar's sherista are full of Persian words.

It was at this time that Makunda Ram Chakravarti lived and wrote, and some of his works are saturated with Persian.

The poet was born in Damunya, a village in the district of Burdwan. The strength of Makunda Ram lay in imaginative description, and he has given us an account of the manners and customs of that period. He is said to have invented charades and enigmas; his descriptions are natural and appropriate, and his love scenes are singularly devoid of obscene or vulgar expressions. The popular praise of Ganga in Bengalee is attributed to him, but we do not find it in his works. He flourished about 1620 A. D.

The next poet of note is Kasi Ram Das, the translator of the Mahabharata. He was born in Siddhigram, in the district of Hoogly, and was a Kayastha by birth. There is a tradition that he lived to complete only three books and a part of the 4th out of the 18 books of the Mahabharata,—and that his son-in-law did the rest. The Mahabharata is perhaps the most popular book with the matrons of Bengal. Kasi Ram Das wrote about the middle or close of the 17th century.

The melodious and pathetic songs of Ram Prasad Sen must ever overwhelm every feeling heart with sadness and woe. This genuine but unpretending poet was born in Halishaher Pergunna in a village called Kamarhatea, and was a Vaidya by caste. In 1723 A. D. he became a *Sircar*, *i. e.*, account keeper to a gentleman of affluence. But yielding to the strong propensities of his nature he wrote poems and songs in the account books, which offended the head sircar, who produced the books to the master. The master, it would seem, was a man of feeling and good taste, and instead of censuring the bad accountant loved the genuine poet, and allowed him 30 Rs. per mensem that he might indulge his natural propensities and write poetry and songs. Thus honored, Ram Prasad retired to his native village, and became known to several *jatra-wallas*, who paid him for his touching songs. But Ram Prasad was a poet to the bottom of his heart, and his soul was full of charity and melted at the sight of woe, so that though he had a

tolerably decent income he could not save a pice, and was often in distress. While thus living in retirement, he became acquainted with the munificent Raja Krishna Chandra Raya of Nadiya, who was so pleased with his life and his songs, that he gave him 14 bighas of Lakhraj lands, and bestowed on him the title of Kavi Ranjan for having composed a poem, the *Vidya Sundara*, which is now lost, On one occassion the poet accompanied the Raja to Moorshedabad.

Like other Tantrika poets he was addicted to drink, but when reproved he replied in a most feeling and touching song that he was not drunk, but that his soul was drunk with the love of *Sakti*. He died in 1762—it is said by jumping into the river Ganges with an image of Kali, which was thrown in after the ceremony of the *puja* was over.

We next come to the renowed poet Bharat Chandra Raya. He was the greatest ornament of the court of the renowed Raja Krishna Chandra Raya of Nadiya; who favoured him highly and gave him some lands near Mulojor, where Bharat retired in his after life. His principal work is the *Annada Mangala*, of which the *Vidya Sundara* is the most famous. The Bengalee language owes much of its sweetness and richness to this poet, who was singularly happy in the expressions he used.

We pass over a long list of minor poets, and only stop to mention the name of the great Ram Mohan Raya. The impetus which he and his followers have given to the prose literature of Bengal must be thankfully acknowledged by every one. As a poet, Ram Mohan Raya wrote some songs which are full of feeling and moral sentiment.

Madan Mohan Tarkalankar was a more thorough poet. He was born in 1816, and served the British Government as a Deputy Magistrate. His beautiful poetry is appreciated and read by every educated Bengalee. He died in 1858.

Iswar Chandra Gupta bears a still nobler name in the annals of the poetic literature of Bengal. He was born in

1810 in the village of Kanchrapara on the Hoogly—almost opposite to the town of Hoogly, and was a Vaidya by caste He contributed very largely to the formation of the prose literature of Bengal—himself conducting some of the earliest and best conducted neswspapers of the country. His poetic talents were first called into play by his animosity towards Gauri Sankara Bhattacharjya,—better known as Gur Guri Bhattacharjya; and the rival effusions of these two poets may well form a chapter in the annals of literary disputes. It was about 1848, that we find Iswar Chandra Gupta writing the Hita Prabhakar, Prabodha Prabhakar, the Bodhendu Bikas, and a lot of other books and periodicals. He died in 1859.

Of the writings of Madhu Sudan Datta we shall say but little. He was born in the district of Jessore by the banks of the Kabatakkha, which he has immortalized in song, and after completing his education here, went to England and was called to the Bar. He began his practice at the Calcutta Bar with good success, but genuine poet that he was, he was ill suited for the legal profession. His last years were spent in penury, and he died deeply lamented.

TRANSLATIONS OF POPULAR VERNACULAR SONGS.

Taza Ba Taza. By Hafiz.

Singer, O sing with all thine art,
Strains ever charming, sweetly new;
Seek for the wine that opes the heart,
Ever more sparkling, brightly new!

With thine own loved one like a toy,
Seated apart in heavenly joy,
Snatch from her lips kiss after kiss,
Momently still renew the bliss!

Boy with the silver anklets, bring
Wine to inspire me as I sing;
Hasten to pour in goblet bright
Nectar of Shiraz, soul's delight.

Life is but life, and pleasure's thine
Long as thou quaff'st the quick'ning wine;
Pour out the flagon's nectary wealth,
Drink to thy loved one many a health.

Thou who hast stole my heart away,
Darling, for me thy charms display;
Deck and adorn thy youth's soft bloom,
Use each fair dye and sweet perfume.

Zephyr of morn, when passing by
Bow'r of my love, this message sigh,
Strains from her Hafiz fond and true,
Strains still more sparkling, sweetly new!

Song, from the Cashmerian.

A correspondent writing to the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 9th June, 1808, says—"Happening to attend a Cashmerian nautch a few nights ago, I was struck with the melody and effect of one of the native airs, which so much attracted my attention that I procured a copy and version of the original song. The original is in the Cashmeree language, and the version has only the merit of being faithful:—

O say what present from your hand
Has reached me save caresses bland;
And oh! was present e'er so dear
As love's soft whispers to my ear.

Mark, in affliction's sad decay,
How this poor frame wastes fast away;
I languish, faint, from eve to morn,
Nor taste of food one barley-corn;
When death thy cruelty shall bring,
Then wilt thou feel the scorpion's sting.

Thou, a gay martial cavalier,
All open force disdain'st to fear,
Of wiles of love not well aware,
Now art thou toiled into the snare;
My rival's false insidious art
Prevails, and triumphs o'er thy heart.

Bengalee Poem.

There's one whose charms have pierced my breast, and set my heart in flame
Her father's only daughter she, and Veedya is her name.
'Tis not for me those charms to tell : O ! would she were but mine !
Though mortal hardly dare aspire to one almost divine.

They say that Love has never shown his shape to human eye,
Yet who beholds my Veedya, will the face of Love descry.
Her dazzling beauty if the god at any time should see,
I fear, alas ! that Ram himself my rival soon would be.

I'll write her songs, and pour my love-sick strains into her ear,
The sacred odes of Nuddea shall my Veedya often hear ;
O would I were a bird that sung in Vriddahro's green grove !
My notes might please the dainty ear of her I dearly love.

My Veedya's beauty fills my head—I study nought beside ;
My Veedya's name I dwell upon from morn till even-tide ;
She only is my every hope, my wish, my aim, my end ;
My orisons to Veedya and to her alone ascend.

Street Ballad.

The following is a translation of a native ballad of Nuzeer, which is very popular among the poor in Indian crowds at melas, &c.

Without a penny—be content to scrape up dirty crumbs.
With a penny—pick and choose, for every dainty comes.
Without a penny—on the ground lay down your restless head.
With a penny—like a king, loll on a feather bed.
Oh ! pennies are 'mong worldly things the most esteemed of any,
And the penniless poor wretch is valued—less than half a penny.

A Poem by Khwaja Hafiz.

During Mahmood Shah's reign the poets of Arabia and Persia resorted to the Deccan, and partook of his liberality. Meer Feiz Oollah Anjoo, who presided on the seat of justice, once presenting the king with an ode, received a thousand pieces of gold, and was permitted to retire to his own country, loaded with wealth and distinction. The fame of the king's taste, his affability and munificence spread so widely, that the

celebrated poet of Shiraz, Khwaja Hafiz, determined to visit the Deccan, but was prevented by a train of accidents, which are thus related. Meer Feiz Oollah Anjoo sent to this famous poet a present from the king, and a letter from himself, promising, if he would come to Koolburga he should be handsomely rewarded, and have safe conduct back to Shiraz. Hafiz, from these kind assurances, consented, and having quitted Shiraz, arrived safely at Lar, where he assisted a friend who had been robbed, with part of his ready money. From Lar he was accompained to Ormus by Khwaja Zein-ool-Abid-Deen, Hamdany and Khwaja Mahomed Kaziroony, who were also going to visit Hindoostan. With these persons he took shipping in one of the royal vessels, which had arrived at Ormus from the Deccan, but it had scarcely weighed anchor when a gale of wind arose, and the ship was in danger, and returned to port. Hafiz suffered so much during the storm, that he insisted on being put ashore, and abandoned his voyage. Having written the following verses, he delivered them to his companions to be given to Feiz Oollah Anjoo, after which he returned to Shiraz :—

Can all the gold the world bestows,
  Though poured by Fortune's bounteous hand,
Repay me for the joys I lose,
  The breezes of my native land!

My friends exclaimed, 'Oh! stay at home,
  Nor quit this once-beloved spot;
What folly tempts thee thus to roam—
  To quit Shiraz—desert thy cot?

'Yon royal court will ill repay,
  Though all its gorgeous wealth be given,
The blessings which you cast away,
  Health and content, the gifts of heaven?'

The glare of gems confused my sight—
  The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard;
But now that I can feel aright,
  I freely own how I have erred.

Though splendid promises were made,
  How could I such a dotard prove,
How could I leave my natal glade,
  Its wines, and all the friends I love?

Hafiz abjures the royal court—
  Let him but have content and health;
For what to him can gold import,
  Who scorns the paths of worldly wealth?

When Feiz Oollah received this poem, he read it to the King, who was much pleased: and observed, that as Hafiz had set out with the intention of visiting him, he felt it incumbent not to leave him without proofs of his liberality. He therefore entrusted a thousand pieces of gold to Mahomed Kasim Meshidy, one of the learned men at Koolburga, to purchase whatsoever, among the productions of India, was likely to prove most acceptable, in order to send them to the poet at Shiraz.

The Nautch Girl's Songs.

The following is a translation of a well known "Gaz'l" of Hafiz, which is often sung by the nautch girls in Bengal:—

Whilst banished from my love I pine,
Ask me not what pangs are mine;
And ask me not the fair one's name,
Whose matchless charms my heart inflame.
Ask me, O ask me not to tell
How many bitter tear drops fell,
When my fond eyes last saw her face,
And her retiring steps did trace.
Nor ask me basely to betray
The tender words the maid did say;
Or if her lip I dared to press,
Ask not Hafiz to confess.
Doomed now to nurse eternal care,
O ask not what my sorrows are;
An exile from the charmer's gate,
What tongue can tell my wretched state!

WORKING OF THE CENSORSHIP.

It is known that the Hindoos and Chinese contend for the invention of the press. It was first brought into use in India by the Portuguese, who established some presses at Goa.

The first newspaper started in Calcutta, as we have already stated, was, the *Bengal Gazette* on the 29th January, 1780. Mr. M. Hickey* was the proprietor and publisher. If any one desire to satisfy himself of the low moral tone of society in Calcutta at that period, let him turn over the pages of that paper. It is full of infamous scandals—in some places so disguised as to be almost unintelligible to the reader of the present day, but in others set forth broadly and unmistakeably; and with a relish not to be concealed. Many of the worst libels appear in the form of fictitious race-meetings, law cases, warlike engagements; or are set forth in the shape of advertisements. As this journal teems with vile abuse of Warren Hastings and his coadjutors, it is not unlikely that the project was promoted, or at all events countenanced, by the powerful clique opposed to the Gevernor-General, namely Messrs. Philip Francis and Co.

The *Bengal Gazette* possessed all the venom for which Francis was noted, but lacked the ability of that gifted writer. As an example of the scurrilous attacks against the Governor-General and his friends, we shall quote the *dramatis personæ* of a "Playbill Extraordinary" inserted in its columns. There Warren Hastings figures as "Don Quixote fighting with windmills, by the Great Mogul, commonly called the Tyger of War"; Impey as "Judge Jeffreys, by the Ven'ble Poolbudy"; Chambers as "Sir Limber, by Sir Viner Pliant"; Justice Hyde as "Justice Balance, by Cram Turkey," and the Rev. W. Johnson, the senior chaplain of the settlement, as "Judas Iscariot touching the forty pieces, by the Rev. Mr. Tally Ho!" The Grand Jury—this, of course, refers to Nundkumar's trial—are represented as "Slaves, Train-bearers, Toad-eaters, and

* Should be J. A. Hicky.

Sycophants," *albeit* they were composed of independent gentlemen, merchants, &c., and among them was benevolent Charles Weston, who benefited many and wronged none, whether Europeans or Natives. Hickey describes himself there as "Cato, also the True-born Englishman!"

The play is stated to be "A Tragedy, called Tyranny in Full Bloom, or the Devil to Pay." Even poor Lady Impey was dragged in and insultingly alluded to thus: "Card Lasses and Pluckings at Lady Poolbudy's Routs." This was the style of vulgar lampoon indulged in by the *Bengal Gazette* regarding the then head of the Government and the principal personages belonging to it.

The advertisements, published in Hickey's *Gazette*, conclusively prove that Calcutta folks then had many amusements. The very first number mentions that, at the Calcutta Theatre, on an early date, would be acted the comedy of the "Beaux Stratagem," and that the Calcutta Races would be run; one of the prizes to be run for is stated to be "the subscription plate, value 2,000 sicca rupees."

It is but fair to state that Hickey did not merely publish libellous articles against Hastings and his partisans; he slandered every one and any one he disliked right round. Even young ladies were most offensively alluded to under different *soubriquets*, which must have been transparent to every one composing the "Society of Calcutta" at that time. Among others, brought forward to the notice of the public, was one named "Hookah Turban," said to be a Miss Wrangham. Gentlemen are, of course, similarly dealt with, and one Mr. Tailor figures in an unenviable light frequently as "Mr. Darzi." Such slanders being cast broadcast, it is not surprising to learn that those whom Mr. Hickey maligned did not submit tamely to insult as this paragraph will show—

"Mr. Hickey thinks it a duty incumbent on him to inform his friends in particular, and the public in general, that an

attempt was made to assassinate him last Thursday morning, between the hours of one and two o'clock, by two armed Europeans, aided and assisted by a Moorman. Mr. H. is obliged to postpone the particulars at present for want of room, but they shall be inserted the first opportunity."

Four years later, or in March 4, 1784, a semi-official organ, named the *Calcutta Gazette*, came into existence, under the editorship of Mr. Francis Gladwin, which the Governor-General, Mr. Warren Hastings, and his council, declared to be published "under their sanction and authority."

It is impossible to turn over the Indian journals of 1788, and the few following years, immediately after laying down those of 1780-81, without being struck with the very different kind of reading which the society had begun to relish. The journals of 1788 are highly decorous and respectable. They contain no private slander, no scurrilous invective, no gross obscenity. The papers abound in descriptions of balls and plays, but in them is nothing offensive.

The journals of 1793 were as regardful of the feelings of society as those of the present day; they were scrupulously courteous to individuals, and delicately fearful of giving offence.

No restriction was placed on writing until 1798. Up to that time the press in India was on the same footing with the press in England; with this exception, that the Governor-General might take away the license of any individual, and prevent him from remaining in India; not the press license, but the license under which his residence was allowed. In all other respects the press was the same as in England.

Mr. Hickey was, in the time of Warren Hastings, tried and condemned for a libel; but he was afterwards forgiven by his prosecutor. Colonel Duane, a gentleman who afterwards signalized himself in America, was banished by the Marquis

Cornwallis; and Dr. Maclean, another distinguished individual was sent away by the Marquis Wellesley. This led to a censorship, which was never registered in the Supreme Court. But, as the Governor-General possessed the power to remove any individual, he exercised that power to fix restraints on the press; and thus the censorship was established.

As an evidence of the working of the censorship which then existed on the Press, the following paragraph from the *Calcutta Gazette*, the Government organ, on the 10th February, 1785, will be of interest: "We are directed by the Honorable the Governor-General and Council to express their entire disapprobation of some extracts from English newspapers which appeared in this paper, during a short period when the editor was under the necessity of entrusting to other hands the superintendence of the Press." How puerile for the Government of the day to *disapprove* of extracts from English newspapers; had the paragraphs objected to been Calcutta editorals, there might have been some reason in the disapproval. It must have been a difficult matter surely to steer clear of shoals and rocks under such a despotic Government.

In 1818, the Marquis of Hastings abolished that censorship. The restrictions or regulations which the Marquis of Hastings imposed in lieu of the censorship were never registered. They only operated through the Governor-General (without the concurrence of his council), in whose hands were placed the power of banishing any European he might think fit; but it remained a dead letter during the whole of Lord Hastings' administration; the consequence was, that while the noble Marquis governed, the press was perfectly free. In that time seven newspapers were established.

It was no longer necessary to submit the proofs of a newspaper to the Secretary to Government before publication; but still there were considerable restrictive rules imposed on the press, which were communicated to the editors in the

following official letter:—"His Excellency the Governor-General in Council having been pleased to revise the existing regulations regarding the control exercised by the Government over the newspapers, I am directed to communicate to you, for your information and guidance, the following resolutions passed by His Lordship in Council. The editors of newspaper are prohibited from publishing any matter coming under the following heads:—1st. Animadversions on the measures and proceedings of the Honorable Court of Directors or other public authorities in England connected with the Government of India, or disquisitions on political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks levelled at the public conduct of the members of the council, of the judges of the Supreme Court, or of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. 2nd. Discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the native population, of any intended interference with their religious opinions or observances. 3rd. The republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under any of the above heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India. 4th. Private scandal, and personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissension in society."

The question of restrictions of the press of India (English newspapers of course,) was the subject of an animated debate in the House of Commons. On the 21st of March, 1811, Lord A. Hamilton moved "for copies of all orders, regulations, rules and directions promulgated in India since the year 1797, regarding the restraint of the press at the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, whether acted upon by the Government there, or sent out by the Court of Directors or the Board of Control. His object, he explained, was not to find fault with any of the regulations to which his motion referred, but merely that an opportunity might be afforded of knowing what were the laws in existence upon the subject, and also upon

what authority they had been established. By the existing regulations he understood no newspaper could be published in India which had not previously received the sanction of Government, on the penalty of immediate embarkation for Europe. The Secretary of the Government, in revising newspapers, was to prevent all observations respecting the public revenues and finances of the country; all observations respecting the embarkations on boardship of stores or expeditions and their destination, whether they belonged to the Company or to Europe; all statements of the probability of war or peace between the Company and native Powers; all observations calculated to convey information to the enemy; and the republication of paragraphs from the European papers which might be likely to excite dissatisfaction or discontent in the Company's territories. If the press was to be prevented from publishing anything on all these heads, he (Lord A. Hamilton) was at a loss to know what subject was left open to it." The motion was opposed by Mr. Dundas, who said that "the noble lord seemed to infer that no restraint should be placed upon the press in India. If such was his meaning, he must say that a wilder scheme never entered into the imagination of man than that of regulating the Indian press similarly to the English. There could be no doubt that the very Government would be shaken to its foundation if unlicensed publications were allowed to circulate over the continent of Hindustan. There could be but two descriptions of persons in India—those who went to that country with the license of the Company, and those who lived in its actual service; and there could be no doubt whatever that the Company had a right to lay any regulation it pleased on those who chose to live under its power, and who when they went into its territories knew the conditions of submission to its authority on which their stay depended." In the course of the discussion which followed, Sir Thomas Turton spoke in a strain of severe sarcasm on the principles of our government in India. He fully agreed that

so delightful a plant as the liberty of the press could never flourish in the sterile soil of despotism. "Why," he asked, should you give Indians the advantage of knowledge? You would only thereby be giving them the means of detecting your own injustice. You have ransacked their country, you have despoiled its people, you have murdered their princes; and, of course, for your own protection, you must keep them deluded, deceived and ignorant. You might as well tell me of the liberty of the press in Morocco and Algier as under your government in India. According to the right honorable gentleman, the people of India are considered as nothing. If such is your principle, to keep them ignorant is as much your policy as to keep them enslaved has been your crime." Ultimately Lord A. Hamilton's motion was rejected, on a division, by a majority of 53 against 18. An argument used against it by one of its opponents was as ingenious as it was unanswerable. "The liberty of the press was," he stated, "for the preservation of freedom; but as there was no freedom in India to preserve, there was no occasion for liberty of the press."

Mr. Buckingham took charge of the *Calcutta Journal* in 1818. It was his misfortune early in 1819 to incur the displeasure of the Governor-General. The first offence given by Mr. Buckingham was as follows:—"We have received a letter from Madras, with a deep mourning border, announcing the fact that Mr. Elliott is continued in his presidency of Madras for three years longer. This appointment is regarded as a public calamity in Madras, and we fear it will be looked upon in no other light throughout India generally." But this was not the only offence committed; in Mr. Buckingham's paper there appeared many other paragraphs said to be calculated to create discontent, and alienate the affections and allegiance of the natives of that vast empire. The *Calcutta Journal* had a large circulation. Mr. B. received repeated

warnings from the Government, for inserting articles injurious to the interests of the East India Company. Amongst others was an attack upon the Bishop of Calcutta, and the Bishop appealed to the Government. Upon one occasion proceedings had been instituted against Mr. B. in the Supreme Court, and a true bill found against him, yet Mr. B. went on publishing articles, attacking even the grand jury which had found the bill. While these proceedings were in progress, one judge was removed to Madras, another went home, and Sir Francis Macnaghten thought it best to postpone the inquiry. Sir Henry Blosset at length arrived, but his death shortly after caused the question to be postponed. Mr. Buckingham however continued his attacks on Government.

On the 15th March, 1823, Mr. Money, the Standing Counsel to the Company, laid before the Supreme Court, a "Rule framed by the Honorable the Governor-General in Council, to regulate the future publication of newspapers, &c., within the settlement of Fort William." The rule commenced as follows :—

"Whereas articles tending to bring the Government of this country as by law established, into hatred and contempt, and to disturb the peace, harmony, and good order of society, have of late been frequently printed and circulated in newspapers and other papers, published in Calcutta, for the prevention whereof it is deemed expedient to regulate by law the printing and publication within the settlement of Fort William, in Bengal, of newspapers, and of all magazines, registers, pamphlets and other printed books and papers, in any language or character published periodically, containing or purporting to contain public news and intelligence, or strictures on the acts, measures and proceedings of Government or any political events or translations whatsoever, &c."

On its being read Mr. Fergusson, on behalf of the principal proprietor of the *Calcutta Journal* opposed its registration as

being "repugnant to the laws of the realm." On the 31st March the arguments of the learned councel were heard. Sir Francis Macnaghten was the presiding judge. After the merits and demerits of the Governor-General's order had been gone into by the Government advocate, as well as the opposing counsel, the judge gave a lengthy opinion on the question. Here is the only important part which adverts to the liberty of the Press:—"It appears to me to be assumed in the argument that Calcutta is as free a land as England. Whether it be advisable for the liberties of England, or for the inhabitants of Calcutta, to grant a free constitution to India, I shall never enquire, but I shall always rejoice at the spread of liberty. I know that many are of opinion that India is a proper country for the introduction of the same liberties as those enjoyed by Englishmen at home, but I also know that others are of quite a different opinion. Among these Sir William Jones, a zealous and ardent lover of liberty, is one; and says that the introduction of liberty into India would be worse than the most odious tyranny. If we are to have a free constitution in India, I shall be glad if any one who can do so, will tell me upon what principle we can found our right to it. I must own I do not know the text or the comment. I confess I am at a loss whence the idea, that a British subject or any one else has a right to the liberties of England in this country, has arisen. I really know of no place where there is more rational liberty than in Calcutta. Industry is encouraged here, and I never knew an individual who had any claim to it, complain of a want of patronage and attention. I never was in any society where individuals were more free, and fearless, and fearless they may well be, where they have nothing to fear in the expression of their sentiments. I say that a free press coming into contact with such a Government as this is, is quite inconsistent and incompatible, and they cannot stand together. What have been the consequences of Mr. Buckingham's transmission. A gentleman has come forward, has taken the charge of the paper and has told the

Government that they cannot send him out of the country, do what he will. But may not a rule be established to meet such a case? It is very true he cannot be sent out of the country, but where is the repugnance to the British law? I repeat that this Government and a Free Press are incompatible and cannot be consistent."

It was then ordained that no such printed paper, &c., should be allowed without a license. And that all offences against this rule should be visited by heavy penalties, and imprisonment.

On the 6th November of the same year, 1823, the full effect of the above rule was brought to bear upon the publishers of the *Calcutta Journal* and its Sunday supplement, the license for the publication of which was revoked and re-called.

Mr. Buckingham was brought into court, by the ordinary legal process, to answer for a libel on the six secretaries. Those individuals were perfectly right in bringing their action, if they thought that they had been slandered. A different course was pursued under Mr. Adam's administration, which followed. Mr. Buckingham was banished; and the licensing system was established, and the decree for that purpose registered in the Supreme Court. Thus then the matter stood:—At Madras, the Marquis Wellesley's censorship still prevailed; at Bombay, the press remained in the same state as that in which it existed during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings: that is to say, properly speaking, there were no precise restraints on the press; while, at Calcutta, the licensing system was adopted.

The Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay complained of the *Bombay Gazette*, for having miscolored, garbled, and misrepresented the proceedings of the court. It appeared that Mr. Warden, the chief secretary to the Government, was the proprietor of the *Bombay Gazette*, though the nominal owner

and editor was a Mr. Fair. The Bombay Government was irritated at this, and they felt themselves obliged to send home Mr. Fair, on account of those miscolored statements. Mr. Warden, himself a member of the Government, garbled the proceedings of the Supreme Court, and the Government selected Mr. Fair, a man of straw, as the scapegoat and sent him home. Subsequently, Sir E. West compelled the editors to register their names. The proceeding was much objected to by the Government of Bombay, but was at last legally enforced, and the Court of Directors acquiesced in that measure. They went one step further. They prevented any servant of the Government from writing in newspapers, or from embarking property in such a speculation. On the 10th of July, 1826, the Supreme Court of Justice at Bombay were called on to register the Bengal regulations. This they refused to do; and all the three judges pronounced it to be unlawful and inexpedient.

Under a free press such as formerly existed in Bengal, it was necessary in the first place to obtain a license, to enable an individual to reside in India; it was exceedingly difficult to procure this, because the spirit of the Company's government was opposed to colonization. In the second place, if the individual intended to set up a newspaper, he must possess very considerable capital; for that purpose, six, eight or ten thousand pounds were requisite. In the third place, they must be aware, that the editor of an opposition journal was frowned on by the Government, and therefore where everything was rewarded by patronage, he could not expect to obtain any situation of emolument. Fourthly, the editor was subject to all the laws, with respect to the press, that were in force in England, and he might, after a second conviction, be banished, under the provisions of the six acts. And fifthly, his license might, at any time, be withdrawn, by a sort of Star-chamber proceeding; which, however, did not possess the advantages that were allowed in the Star-chamber, where a man was put on his

defence. In India no trial was granted; and several persons had been banished in that summary way.

To put the matter of the deportation of Mr. Buckingham and Mr. Arnot in a clear light, we quote the following from a speech made by Mr. D. Kinnaird, at a meeting of a Court of Proprietors at the East India House in July 1824:—"When the honorable Proprietor came to the last charge, which had been made by Mr. Adam against Mr. Buckingham, he inveighed strongly against that transaction. That charge was founded on an article written by the latter gentleman, in ridicule of the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Bryce, a Presbyterian clergyman, to the situation of Clerk to the Commissioners of Stationery. In consequence of the remarks made by Mr. Buckingham on that occasion, he received a letter from the secretary to Government, ordering Mr. Buckingham immediately to leave the settlement and to proceed to Europe; as if the safety of India were endangered because Mr. Buckingham, in a good-humoured article, laughed at the extraordinary appointment of Mr. Bryce—an appointment which had created disgust in Scotland, and which he believed had occasioned a good deal of animadversion in the General Assembly there. But even this was little compared with the conduct of Lord Amherst, who had removed from that country Mr. Arnot, an individual connected with the *Calcutta Journal*. Mr. Arnot was not the editor of that journal but an assistant in the office. The situation of editor was filled after Mr. Buckingham left India by Mr. Sandys, a Hindoo Briton, or half-caste, who being a native, could not be removed. Lord Amherst knew this; and, as he could not molest Mr. Sandys, he laid hold of Mr. Arnot, who was an Englishman, and ordered him home. That individual went to Serampore. There, however, he was given up. He was shipped on board a vessel going round by way of Bencoolen, and not direct to England; and in the unwholesome climate of Bencoolen he was obliged to remain

for some time. It was quite evident that Mr. Arnot was selected as a victim to deter any other European from acting on behalf of Mr. Buckingham."

It was the custom in 1824, and some previous years, for the Government authorities at the Post Office to require that all letters sent by post *to the public journals* should have on their back the names of the persons from whom they came, that every correspondent with the public press might be known. This fact we learn from a speech made by Mr. Hume at the India House in July, 1842, and it is a very significant fact, as to the asserted liberty then given to the Press of India.

Mr. Hume remarked in a speech at the India House in July 1824:—"It had been asserted that Mr. Adam had the power of putting down journals. If this was the case, then why had he not put down the *John Bull in the East*, which had been filled from the day of its commencement with every sort of abuse that could be scraped together against Mr. Buckingham. Mr. B.'s journal had been put down, and yet the Government had not been able to point out a single libel in the whole of its numbers. But the reason was that the *John Bull* was the property of the servants of Government, and that it had been established by them expressly to write down the *Calcutta Journal*. Many of the influential officers in India were at its head, and Mr. Greenlaw was the editor, yet with all this power and influence they were not able to destroy Mr. Buckingham, so at length as a final resource, they banished him."

The proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle* (formerly the *Colombian Press Gazette*) having fallen under the displeasure of the Government, in consequence of some indecorous remarks in that paper, prayed the lenity of the Vice-President and engaged to dismiss his editor, named Sutherland, if his license was not revoked. The Government agreed to the proposal, and Mr. Sutherland suffered for an offence which would be looked upon in a very different light at the present day. Mr. Adam

succeeded him as editor, though it is asserted that Mr. Sutherland still continued writing for the paper and was considered as joint editor. The proprietor of the *Bengal Chronicle* was Rosario,* whose name still lives in the memory of the Calcutta world, as the head of a long established publishing and bookselling firm. Mr. Adam did not long continue as editor of the *Bengal Chronicle*, but established a paper of his own under the title of the *Calcutta Chronicle*, which was published three times a week.

On the 31st May, 1827, the Government suppressed the *Calcutta Chronicle*. The following is a copy of the official communication from Government:—"Mr. Wm. Adam, and Mr. Villiers Holcroft, proprietors of the *Calcutta Chronicle*.—Gentlemen:—The general tenor of the contents of the *Calcutta Chronicle* having been for some time past highly disrespectful to the Government and to the Honorable the Court of Directors, and the paper of the 29th instant in particular, comprising several paragraphs in direct violation of the regulations regarding the press, I am directed to inform you that the Right Hon. the Vice-President in Council has resolved that the license granted to you (on the 25th January last) for the printing and publishing of the *Calcutta Chronicle* be cancelled, and it is hereby cancelled accordingly from the present date. I am, &c. C. LUSHINGTON, Chief Sec. to Govt. Council Chamber, 31st May, 1827."

The censorship at Madras seems to have been exercised with a strictness and severity without parallel elsewhere. We are repeatedly presented with long stellated blanks, both in the *Madras Gazette* and *Madras Courier*, indicating the erasure of passages, the initial words of some of which lead us to believe that they could have contained nothing offensive. For example, in the *Gazette* of April 22, 1829, occurs this passage:—"Mr. Deaman, we find, has at last been honoured with a silk gown, in terms very flattering"—(then follows a quarter of a column of

* This was probably Mr. P. S. D'Rozario.

stars.) The same paper of a different date, contains the beginning of some remarks upon a Calcutta work:—"In the *Asiatic Journal* for October is a letter on the subject of the new *Atlas of India*, a work projected on a large scale, particularly as applied to Southern India; the maps of which, being on a scale of one mile to four inches, are drawn by the late Captain Mountford, than whom it could not have devolved upon a more efficient person. To the most correct judgment he added the most accurate delineation and finest pencil possible to imagine. He excelled in whatever he undertook in the department to which he belonged." (Then follows a chasm of about the same length as the other). In the *Courier* of the 20th March, 1829, appears an entire column of stars; the title of one of the blanks is "Calcutta," showing that the expunged passage must be an extract from a newspaper of that presidency? A *Courier* of a subsequent date exhibits no less than five starred columns! A passage, expunged by the censor from a Madras paper some time previous found its way into one of the Calcutta journals, and turned out to be a stricture, we may venture to say, perfectly *harmless*, upon Mr. Huskisson! These frequent exertions of a very delicate and invidious discretionary power, attracted much notice, and provoked some severe animadversions, at the neighbouring presidency.

In 1825 Sir Charles Metcalfe first declared that the spread of knowledge in India was of too paramount importance to be obstructed for any temporary or selfish purpose. "I am inclined," said he then, "to think, that I would let it have its swing, if I were sovereign lord and master." Five years later saw him a member of the Supreme Council, and able to begin the battle in earnest with a minute, the words of which are singularly significant at present:—

"Admitting that the liberty of the press, like other liberties of the subject, may be suspended when the safety of the State

requires such a sacrifice, I cannot as a consequence acknowledge that the present instance ought to be made an exception to the usual practice of the Government; for if there were danger to the State either way, there would be more, I should think, in suppressing the publication of the opinions, than in keeping the valve open by which bad humours might evaporate. To prevent men from thinking and feeling is impossible, and I believe it to be wiser to let them give vent to their temporary anger in anonymous letters in the newspapers, the writers of which letters remain unknown, than to make that anger permanent, by forcing them to smother it within their own breasts, ever ready to burst out. It is no more necessary to take notice of such letters now than it was before. The Government which interferes at its pleasure with the press, becomes responsible for all that it permits to be published."

In January 1835, Lord William Bentinck received a petition from the people of Calcutta calling on him to repeal the old press regulations. But he returned to England before the petition was discussed, and Sir Charles Metcalfe was temporarily appointed head of the Supreme Council. "Sovereign lord and master," at last, he saw his opportunity, and saw, too, that it would not last long. With the help of Macaulay, fresh then from penning a panegyric on Milton, the father of a Free Press in England, he was able to publish the draft of his famous Act by the April of this same year. The Calcutta memorialists at once held a meeting and voted an enthusiastic address to Sir Charles Metcalfe, "Liberator of the Indian Press." This address he answered with straightforward honesty and earnestness, and with such freedom of utterance as must have shocked the conventional reserve and exclusiveness of Indian statesmanship. But the words well befitted a manifesto invoked by the public expression of gratitude and approbation.

The new press regulation, though introduced in the spring, did not come into operation until the autumn, which proves that

legislation was really a work of thought and consideration in those days; and the freedom of the Indian Press dated from the 15th September, 1835. "It was a great day," says Sir John Kaye, "which the people of Calcutta were eager to celebrate. So they subscribed together, and they erected a noble building on the banks of the Hooghly to contain a public library, and to be applied to other enlightening purposes, and they called it the Metcalfe Hall. It was to bear an inscription declaring that the press of India was liberated on the 15th September, 1835, by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and the bust of the Liberator was to be enclosed in the building."

FUGITIVE NOTICES OF THE PRESS.

The following official announcement states that the *Calcutta Gazette and Oriental Advertiser*, which was started in 1784, was to be considered an official organ for all advertisements of the Government, the editorial management not being considered official:—"The Honorable the Governor-General and Council having permitted Mr. Francis Gladwin to publish a Gazette under their sanction and authority, the heads of offices are hereby required to issue all such advertisements or publications as may be ordered on the part of the Honorable Company, through the channel of his paper. W. BRUERE, Secretary. Fort William, 9th February, 1784."

The following advertisements we shall string together; they are taken from the papers of 1793:—

"A Masquerade," to be held on the 16th February at the Calcutta Theatre. Tickets at 20 rupees each.

"Narrative of the sufferings of James Bristow, belonging to the Bengal Artillery, during ten years' captivity with Hyder Ally and Tippoo Saheb."

"Canary Brids," for sale at Serampore, by Mr. Meyer: two pair of very beautiful canary birds, which sing remarkably fine. Price 60 rupees per pair.

"Rajah Camarupa; an Indian tale, translated from the Persian, with notes, critical and explanatory, by Lieutenant William Francklin, and dedicated to Sir William Jones." Price of each copy, *two gold mohurs.*

To give our readers some idea as to the cost of books in 1821, we note the following prices of a few works then considered new, taken from an advertisement of Mr. Charles Wiltshire, a tradesman at Colvin's Ghaut:—Blair's Sermons, 5 vols., 8vo., 50 rupees; Shakespear's Hindostanee Grammar, Dictionary and Selections, 4 vols., 4to., 160 rupees; Scott's Bible, 4 vols., 4to., 128 rupees; Whiston's Josephus, 4 vols., 8vo., 48 rupees; Kimpton's History of the Bible, folio, 50 rupees; Hewlett's Bible, 3 vols., 4to., 250 rupees; Dodd's Bible, folio, 3 vols., 270 rupees; Dr. Isaac Watts' Works, 6 vols., 4to., 200 rupees; Doddridge's Rise and Progress, 8vo., 10 rupees.

From Mr. Thacker's Catalogue, No. 249, opposite St. Andrew's Church, we take the following sale prices for some well known works:—Gibbon's Decline and Fall, 12 vols., 8vo., 80 rupees; Hume's and Smollett's History of England, 21 vols., 12mo., 56 rupees; Pinkerton's Geography, 2 vols., 4to., 80 rupees; Meninski's Arabic, Persian and Turkish Lexicon, 4 vols., folio, 136 rupees.

In a Government Gazette of the 31st May, 1821, we observe an advertisement of Muddoosoodun Mookerjee's' Oriental Library, opposite St. Andrew's Church, corner of Tank Square. This bookselling concern continued in existence till within a few years ago.

In May 1821, Messrs. Samuel Greenway and Co. announce that they have admitted Mr. Samuel Smith into partnership in the "Bengal Hurkaru Newspaper and Library, Printing, Stationery and Bookselling concerns," and that the firm would henceforth be Greenway and Smith.

The order of Government forbidding civilians or military men corresponding with the Press was to every intent and purpose, a perfect farce and dead letter. Mr. Lang tells us that on the staff of the *Mofussilite*, which was published at Meerut in 1847 and for several years afterwards, were several gentlemen belonging to each branch of the service. These gentlemen not only wrote, but some of them wrote for pay; and their connection with the press was well known by those at the head of Government. Major Thomas, who was killed in the field, was virtually the editor of the *Mofussilite*. H. B. Edwardes, of the Fusiliers, was the "Brahminee Bull" of the *Delhi Gazette*. Mr. Campbell, of the Civil Service, was the "Delator" of the *Mofussilite*. A series of military articles written in the last named paper attracted the attention of Sir Charles Napier—they came from the pen of General (then Major) Mansfield, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India. In all these instances the writers were not silenced, but received staff appointments.

On the surrender of the fortress of Agra to the British Army, under the command of Lord Lake, in the year 1803, the magazines and vaults were pointed out by some of the old residents of the place, and the massive and iron bound doors were soon made to give way to the efforts of the soldiery, who very soon emptied them of every thing which was portable. In the evening of the day which saw this scene of confusion, Lieutenant Mathews of the Artillery went to view the interior of the fortress. Passing one of the vaults which had shortly before been plundered, he entered, and the first object which attracted his eye was a machine which to him appeared to be a European mangle. On closer inspection, however, he discovered it to be a printing press, and what was the more extraordinary, having the types ready set for some Oriental production. Major Yule of the Bengal Army hearing of this, was anxious to know what the work was, which was most probably the very first that had been ever attempted to be

printed in Hindustan, and that too under the auspices of the head of the empire. Means were at once attempted to pull a proof sheet of the form; this was done under manifold disadvantages, and the sheet disclosed six pages of the Koran; The face of the type was excellent, and it is a pity that the press with its type were not preserved; but the ruthless soldiers pulled the whole machine to pieces and destroyed the types. This information is obtained from the *Asiatic Journal* for 1861.

CHAPTER XVI.

SANITATION.

CALCUTTA did not at once acquire that elegance which has gained for it the designation of the City of Palaces. In 1769, when Mr. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, came to it, it consisted of "houses, not two or three of which were furnished with venetian blinds or glass windows; solid shutters being generally used; and rattans like those used for the bottoms of chairs, in lieu of panes: whilst little provision was made against the heat of the climate." Another writer of about the same period says, that Calcutta "was one of the filthiest places in the world." Down to a much later date the extreme nastiness of the streets, and the absence of all sanitary regulations, afforded occasion for frequent animadversions in the newspapers.

One illustration of the need of sanitation and cleanliness may suffice. *Hicky's Bengal Gazette* for March 1780 says—"Would you believe it, that in the very centre of this opulent city, and almost under our noses, there is a spot of ground measuring not more than 600 square yards, used as a public burying ground by the Portuguese inhabitants, where there are annually interred upon a medium not less than 400 dead bodies; that these bodies are generally buried without coffins, and in graves dug so exceedingly shallow as not to admit of their being covered with much more than a foot and-a-half of earth, insomuch that, after a very heavy fall of rain, some parts of them have been known to appear above ground; that when the pressure of the atmosphere happens to be at any time diminished, and the effluvium arising from the accumulating mass of corruption has room to expand, the stench becomes intolerable and sufficient to give the air a pestilential taint! Moreover the

quantity of matter necessarily flowing from it, assimilating with the springs of the earth, can scarcely fail to impart to the water in the adjacent wells and tanks a morbid and noxious quality, laying by this means the foundation of various diseases among the poorer sort of people, who are obliged to drink it; nor can those in more affluent circumstances, from the natural indolence and deception of servants, promise themselves absolute exemption from it."

This burial ground was, it is believed, in the vicinity of the Armenian Church.

The dead bodies of indigent natives were dragged naked through the crowded thoroughfares to the river, into which they were thrown; and sometimes a corpse in a state of putrefaction was left lying in close proximity to some crowded bazar, until the distressed neighbours would liberally fee the *Haris* or scavengers charged with the duty of removing it. The country around the city was very insalubrious, and epidemic diseases often devastated the settlement. Early in the eighteenth century, out of 1200 Europeans, four hundred and sixty burials took place in six months; and for some years after the re-occupation of Calcutta, it was a most unhealthy place. This was probably owing to the salt water lake to the east, and to swampy fields and tracts of uncleared jungle, the lurking place of the tiger and the leopard, within a very short distance from the town. So great was the annual mortality, that it is said, the European residents met on the 15th of October in each year, to congratulate one another on their escape from the pestiferous influences of the rainy season. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, however, the healthiness of Calcutta was well established in the opinion of its inhabitants; and it has continued ever since to be a very salubrious place, notwithstanding its great natural disadvantages.

The following curious items are taken from the Government "Consultations" of the 1st February, 1753, and are headed, "Items of expenditure in Tank Square and Calcutta :—

"Three Sergeans' diets and Doobey's hire in cutting the trees of the road ...	Rs.	89	7	3
To repairing the walks, clearing and repairing the tank in the Park, monthly ...	,,	25	4	3
For orange trees for the use of the Park ...	,,	24	0	0
To the Mores employed for secret services	,,	10	12	6
Plate	,,	77	3	9
Govind Chand's cat	,,	0	0	9
For sale at public outcry of sundry effects belonging to Isuree and Bovee, prostitutes, and Diaramsing, confiscated to the Company	,,	539	4	3"

The Government advertised in 1769 for contracts for "levelling, dressing and making in puckah, the road forming the eastern boundary of the town, commonly called the Boytaconnah Road, and commencing from the Rasapugla Road, at the corner of Chowringhee, and terminating at Chitpore Bridge."

Much jungle and rank underwood grew within and around Calcutta, in such density that tigers were to be found even on the site of the new cathedral, and wild boar roamed on the Chowringhee plain; it was found necessary to clear the country to get rid of these and other annimals; an order was therefore passed on the 12th July 1762, that "the surveyor be directed immediately to cut down all that sort of growth throughout the town and within the limits of the Maharatta ditch."

On the 6th January, 1790, the Government advertised for contracts for the construction of three large tanks in Calcutta; the first tank was "opposite to the Cheringhee Buildings, and immediately adjoining to the roads about 300 yards distant from the corner; the earth excavated from which to be employed towards raising and levelling the low marshy ground in that

part of the Esplanade, and which extends to the westward at the greatest distance, from four to five hundred yards, and about two hundred yards to the northwest. The tank to be 500 feet long, 300 feet broad, and twenty feet deep, and to be finished on or before the 1st day of June in the year 1791." The second and third tanks—"one of which is to be situated midway between the Troop Stables and the Gaol; the other a little to the south-eastward of the former, each to be about the same dimensions in every respect with No. 1, and the earth excavated from them to be employed towards raising and levelling that tract of marshy ground which lies between the Troop Stables and the Gaol." These tanks were excavated. No. 1, was no doubt Durrumtollah Tank, and the others near the Great Jail.

On the 28th April, 1794, in accordance with an Act of Parliament passed in the 33rd year of His Majesty, which made it necessary that the Justices of the Peace should arrange for the watching, repairing and cleansing the streets of the town, a meeting was held, and Mr. Francis Gladwin, or the Collector of Calcutta for the time being, was appointed to collect the assessment fixed upon, which was one-twentieth of the true and real annual values of all houses, buildings and grounds in the town. Messrs. J. B. Reeves, W. Brown, A. H. Smith, and J. Thornton were selected to make the assessment. This appears to have been the first house-tax imposed upon Calcutta.

In order to prevent encroachments on the streets, roads and lanes in the town of Calcutta, which seem to have been frequent, the Justices had been obliged to issue an order, under date the 16th April, 1799, ordering that no such encroachments should be made, Mr. Tiretta, the superintendent, being always ready to give the necessary directions for the excavation of foundations or frontages on the public road.

What a filthy state the river off Calcutta was at that time and for many years afterwards, may be seen from the letter of a captain of one of the vessels lying in the stream, written in

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1802:—"While we lay at anchor one of the crew was sent every morning to remove the dead bodies from the cables. To account for this singular inconvenience, I ought to observe that it is customary with inferior tribes, when any of their family are on the point of expiring, to remove them to the edge of the river at low water-mark; and should they be so fortunate as to crawl from the flow of the tide and recover, they are never received by their relatives, but obliged to seek refuge among the outcast tribes. Indeed the river at all hours presents an unpleasant spectacle, and the dangerous effluvia from many of the carcases in a state of putrefaction is often the cause of malignant disease. One day while crossing the river, one of the natives fell overboard, and during my efforts to get him into the boat I nearly lost my life: however being fortunate in saving him, his first cry was for a maintenance! I asked him how he could expect so inconsistent a thing, especially as I had been instrumental in rescuing him from a watery grave. He said I had prevented him from going to his god, and enjoying that state of felicity, to which the will of Providence had just called him. Having received such a reprimand, for an act that among the most savage tribes would be entitled to gratitude, I determined while in India never to interfere with the destiny of any of the natives."

The sanitary condition and wants of Calcutta attracted the attention of Lord Wellesley, when he held the office of Governor-General with such distinguished honor to himself and such great advantage to the empire. A committee was formed to report on the best means for improving the sanitation of the city. Through their means and by the Lottery Committee much good was done. But no bold or comprehensive scheme was carried out—only here and there, and from time to time, public improvements were made in the streets and roads, and to the general appearance of the town. The state of the drains, the over-crowded population, the ill-ventilated state of

the houses, the filthy tanks, the impure water used for drinking purposes—these were not improved till many years after, when Drs. Martin and Nicolson and others, by their reports and writings, compelled the Government of the day (in 1835) to take the matter in hand.

Monohur Dass, the great Benares banker, commenced (in May, 1793) a very useful and extensive work, the excavation of a large tank on the Chowringhee road, three hundred and fifty feet in length and two hundred and twenty-five feet in breadth, entirely at his own expense. This tank still exists and bears the name of the banker.

Some attempt was made to attend to the sanitation of Calcutta at the close of 1801. The Police advertise for eighty-five pair of strong bullocks for "the use of the carts employed under the scavengers for cleansing the streets and drains within the town of Calcutta."

We take the following account of the discovery of primeval forests in Calcutta and the neighbourhood, from the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 5th May, 1815:—"The ingenuity of our naturalists has during the past fortnight been fully exerted in endeavouring to assign causes for an interesting phenomenon, which has presented itself at the great tank before the junction of the Chowringhee Road with that of Esplanade Row. The bottom of this great basin being sandy suffered the water to filter through and escape, so as to leave the tank dry in the hot season. To remedy this evil, it was determined to remove altogether this sandy layer. A number of workmen were employed, and had not dug above four feet, when they came on a regular group of full grown trees. These trees were standing perpendicularly at short distances from each other, and had the appearance of trunks lopped off within three or four feet from

the roots. In general they were about a foot and-a-half or two feet in diameter. They were firmly fixed in a dark loamy soil, into which their roots spread in every direction. The elbows where the trunk separates into its roots were distinctly marked. The substance of these subterraneous growths was of a reddish color, like soondree, soft and moist, still preserving the grain of the wood. Upon enquiry we have learned that this natural curiosity is by no means singular. About six or eight years ago, a similar appearance offered itself on digging the Lall diggy; and very lately at Dum-Dum, not only trunks of trees, but bones and deer-horns were found at a great depth from the surface of the ground on the occasion of sinking a new tank. It is even said that the body of a boat was dug up under similar circumstances at Garden Reach. On the authority of tradition, and of a man in Orme's work, it has been conjectured, that this tank (that first alluded to) is on the site of a deep *nulla* capable of bearing sloops, which ran in front of the Esplanade Row in its course from the Salt Water Lakes to the river, and that these trees were planted on its banks. But how will this supposition account for those clumps which were found at the bottom of the Lall diggy?"

During the administration of Warren Hastings large sums were expended in improving the ventilation of Calcutta; a street sixty feet wide (Government House—east side—to Scotch Kirk) was opened through the centre in its longest diameter, and several squares, each having a large water tank in the centre surrounded by planted walks, were made: a quay, called the Strand, between two and three miles long, was formed, which extends along the river bank; it is 40 feet above low water-mark, and is furnished with many broad flights of masonry steps (*ghats*), which are used for landing and embarking, and also for the accommodation of the natives in making the frequent ablutions prescribed by their religion.

The city is now supplied with water from Pulta Ghat, 17 miles to the north; thence it is conveyed in large pipes and distributed over a great portion of it. Parts of it are supplied from wells, and there are large tanks or open reservoirs, excavated in the earth: these latter are commonly 150 to 200 yards long by 100 wide, and thirty or forty feet deep; they become filled in the rainy season.

CHAPTER XVII.

HEALTH AND MORTALITY.

CALCUTTA, in the last century, had justly an ill name for its insalubrity; but it was not entirely owing to the climate. The doctors of those days also were in fault. Dr. Goodeve in his paper on "The Progress of European Medicine in the East," states that all the Faculty agreed, that "as the strength must be supported in dysentery, wine and solid animal food were the most appropriate diet." Patients in those cases were ordered, "pillaos, curries, grilled fowls, and peppered chicken broth *ad libitum*, with a glass or two of medicine, or a little brandy and water, and a dessert of ripe fruits." Lind states that the Portuguese doctors prescribed as the grand cure in all cases, "the changing all the European blood in their patients' bodies into native's. This they endeavoured to accomplish by repeated venesections, till they conceived that the whole mass of this circulating fluid had been abstracted. And then by a diet consisting exclusively of the productions of the country, they hoped to substitute a liquid entirely Indian, which would render their patients proof against the maladies under which they had previously laboured."

There was great mortality in Calcutta in the year 1757. "Pucka fevers, the Chowringhee jungle, and reeking mud bank made Calcutta in September a second Batavia, the Golgotha of India;" and they had few ideas of sanitary measures in those days. We extract one order, however, of that nature:—"This being a good opportunity to open the town by cutting down the trees with which it is surrounded, ordered, that permission be given to all persons to cut down the trees within our bounds, orange trees and other fruit trees excepted, and that the wood shall belong to those who pay the labourers."

The deaths among covenanted servants had been so numerous, that a clerk, of the name of Hewitt, was proposed by the Calcutta Government "to be covenanted on the establishment." The Court appointed him, "although," say they, "this is a door that it is with very great reluctance we are induced to open; he is to execute the covenants and to write to his friends in England to give the usual security for him." He was appointed in the Secretary's office. The mortality extended also among the clergy, for it is stated, that "there was no chaplain alive," in August 1757.

In one of the earliest notices of Calcutta, that is extant, it is quaintly said by Captain Hamilton, who was there at the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century,—"The Company has a pretty good hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation." "One year I was there, (at Calcutta)," he continues, "and there were reckoned in August about 1200 English,—some military, some servants of the Company, some private merchants residing in the town, and some seamen belonging to the shipping lying off the town; and before the beginning of January there were four hundred and sixty burials registered in the clerk's books of mortality."

Ives gives the statistics of the Calcutta hospital:—"From the ships in 1757 between February 8th and August 8th of that year, 1,140 patients were received, of those 54 were for scurvies, 302 bilious fevers, and 56 bilious cholics; 52 men buried. Between August 9th and November 7th, 717 fresh patients were taken in, of those 147 were putrid fevers, and 155 putrid fluxes; 101 were buried." No wonder; for it was the practice then, according to Dr. Bogue, of *bleeding* in all fever cases.

The rains were the deadly time in Calcutta in the earlier days, particularly for new arrivals; it is said that in 1757

ships in the river used to lose one-fourth of their crews, owing to their exposure to night fogs and to the punch houses, though the stoppages at Diamond Harbour laid the foundation of the diseases of the majority of the affected. There was a disease common to the lower classes of Europeans, called the *Barbers*, a species of palsy, owing to exposure to the land winds after a fit of intoxication.

In the days of Warren Hastings work of all kinds commenced at seven or eight in the morning, and was finished at noon. "Then followed the great meal of the day, the dinner of the ancient world; and the people of Calcutta smoked and slept like lotus-eaters throughout the hot afternoons. Instead of returning from office weary, and exhausted, they woke up to fresh life and spirits, ready for any gaiety that was going on —riding, driving, walking, or paddling about in budgerows angling for mango-fish." At eight o'clock evening began, not as with us with a big dinner, a cheroot, or at best a game of whist, but a round of visits to certain houses, which were always open on particular evenings. Colonel Sleeman, who landed at Calcutta in 1812, has given us a suggestive description of these social gatherings; he was just in time to see the last of these entertainments. "There was an old lady, aged ninety or thereabouts, who remembered the days of the Nawabs and the Mahrattas, Clive and the Black Hole. One evening in the week she opened her house to society at large; and the male visitors were not men who had risen at six o'clock in the morning, and were worn out with business or office work, but lively gallants, fresh from the afternoon siesta, and ready for a little supper, as people would be who had dined at one or two; and, of course, they talked, laughed, flirted, sang, danced and played at cards till midnight, as people can do who have slept away the afternoon," All this awakens up pleasant ideas to a generation that dines at eight o'clock in the evening, and often fall asleep directly afterwards; but it had its disadvantages in

the shape of liver, yellow complexion, disease, and death. Life was merry but short; whereas if life at present is somewhat dull, the doctors assure us that it is longer. Indeed, if we are to believe the doctors, people in former days were old at forty, and died before they were fifty. Yet somehow there were some who could stand all sorts of dissipation till they were fifty or thereabouts, and then go to England, and live for twenty or thirty years longer.

In September 1789 an influenza became general among the European inhabitants of Calcutta, and a medical correspondent recommends to those who can afford it, to "drink deep" in rosy port, to guard them against the bad effects of that unwholesome weather. This custom, we fear. became rather too common afterwards. Potations in brandy (not port) were recommended in after years as preventives against cholera, when that disease caused its periodical panics in Bengal previous to 1830.

Mortality also among the troops and the squadron, seems to have been very great. Clive writes to the Court, under date, Camp Fatehpoor near Rajmahal, 23rd December, 1757:—"Notwithstanding the precautions taken for preserving the military in health by quartering the greatest part at Cossimbazar and Chandernagore, I am sorry to inform you that a terrible mortality has reigned among them, and that many of the survivors are so reduced by illness as to be still incapable of duty. We have likewise lost several officers, and among the rest Major Kilpatrick, who acquired much deserved reputation in his long course of service in India. The squadron has suffered no less than the land forces; indeed, the sickness has been general, not only with the English, but the French and Dutch, and even the natives. The enclosed return will give you particulars of our loss, as well as acquaint you with the small force I have at present in the field. Of the detachment of King's troops not above twenty privates were fit for duty when we marched; therefore, at Mr. Pocock's pressing instance,

I left the whole behind to be embarked on board the squadron. Of the Madras detachment there remained about 150 effective, train included, so that the troops now with me are for the greatest part composed of foreign deserters, and topasses, entertained on the Bengal establishment. However the present face of affairs seems fortunately to require but little service from our arms, political negociations are likely to be more necessary."

A disease called the "pucka fever" was prevalent in Calcutta during the last century, probably owing to the mass of jungle which extended in every direction, and the fetid jheels. Mrs. Kindersley writes of it as "the liness of which most persons die in Calcutta; it frequently carries off persons in a few hours —the doctors esteem it the highest degree of putridity."

Inoculation was introduced with great success into the Orphan Society's institution, Calcutta, in March 1786. Fifty-three children, who were inoculated had had the small-pox, and recovered. Out of nine who took the disorder in the natural way, three died.

During the last century disease must have made fearful ravages among the natives. Small-pox was a dreadful scourge; it is said by one authority that "inoculation is much practised by the natives, but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally mixed with some liquid." Native doctors had their hot and cold cures, besides having recourse to their mantras and philtres.

It may surprise many to learn that inoculation was practised in India long before the introduction of vaccination among the British. The following is the manner in which the villagers of the Chicacole district were inoculated by the Brahmins of the countries north of Vizagapatam:—"A certain quantity of cotton to be wetted with the matter of a favourable small-pox, a cut to be given upon their arms with an instrument; the above cotton together with a quantity of rice, to be put in water. After the rice is properly wet and softened thereby, about six or

seven grains, well mixed with jagry, to be given to each person, and the wound on his arm covered by a small quantity of the above cotton; after which they are to be washed, either in a tank, well, or river, and immediately afterwards *turvani*, or some water and rice, with butter-milk, to be given them for their food. After they are thus washed four or five different times every day, for three days, they get fever thereby, and the small-pox begins to appear; they are then to eat passaloo, grain rice, and butter-milk whenever they wish for it. After the small-pox becomes ripe and broken, they are to live upon the following diet, *viz.*, rice and curries of different grains, such as *breekoy* and *putlacoy*: about four days after which oil and turmeric mixed together are to be rubbed over their bodies, and they are to be washed."

The chance of life in this country, in 1827, was regarded at home at a very low standard—as "nearly 100 per cent. worse than in England, at least up to the age of fifty, when the proportion rather improves." The following was the scale of premiums demanded by the Asylum Life Assurance Company, for the ages specified, on lives in England and India, the latter being restricted to the civil service:—

Age.		*England.*				*India.*		
21,	per cent.	£ 1	13	10	...	£ 3	13	7
30,	do	2	3	5	...	4	5	1
40,	do	2	19	4	...	5	7	3
50,	do	4	4	1	...	7	3	10

The old writers almost uniformly attribute the unhealthiness of Calcutta to the contiguity of the Salt Water Lake. Hamilton says—"Charnock, being then the Company's agent in Bengal, had liberty to settle an emporium on any part of the river's side below Hooghly, and for the sake of a large shady tree, chose that place, though he could not have chosen a more unhealthy place on all the river; for three miles to the north-east is a salt water lake, that overflows in September and October, and then prodigious numbers of fish resort thither; but in November and

December, when the floods are dissipated, these fishes are left dry, and with their putrefaction affect the air with their stinking vapours, which the north-east winds bring with them to Fort William, when they cause a yearly mortality." Dr. Lind, writing in 1792 on the same subject, observes—"The fever with which Calcutta is visited is to be attributed chiefly to the Lake. To the north end of the town it is all wet soil, and fit only for raising rice." But we must not assign to this cause alone the frightful mortality, which in the time of the earliest settlers, converted the growing city into a great Golgotha. The Salt Water Lake still exists. But we have ceased to destroy ourselves by intemperance; we live in what may be called houses; and we are constantly tended by some of the ablest, the most enlightened, and the most assiduous medical practitioners in the world.

Passing from the din and bustle of the great city, along the level road from Chowringhee towards the Circular Road and the Mahratta ditch, we come to where the tall casuarina waves around the graves of the English dead; and lordly monuments are erected over their dust, which soon crumble down and desolately mingle with it, a fitter tomb than marble or stone. Here we view life and labour in India. What a book does a Calcutta cemetery hold up to the visitor—what a record of motive, of desire, of despair, of remorse, and of successful faith and glorious triumph as well, are unfolded in its pages. Here will be found the representative of every class of toilers in this land of exile;—here side by side the adventurer, the merchant, the pelf-seeker, the opulent and the poor man, rest till that day when the dust shall give up the dead.

The burial-ground consists of two considerable enclosures, each of which is walled in, but separated from the other by a high road. Viewed from whatever quarter you enter, the great cemetery of Calcutta presents a remarkable aspect. "Monuments of all sizes, of the most eccentric and incongruous

forms, are strangely huddled together, without order or arrangement. The capacious cupola, the Egyptian obelisk, the marble sarcophagus, the lofty column, the sculptured form, the Ionic temple or a Gothic tomb. Every known order,—every imaginary order of architecture, of every shape and size, are here found in juxtaposition. Each cycle appears to have enjoyed its own peculiar fashion. The oldest tomb was that of Mrs. Frances Berander,* wife of the first missionary of Bengal. It bears date 1773. The number of tombs characterized by good taste is extremely limited. Beyond the mere tablet of inscription there is but little marble, and of sculpture there are but two specimens deserving of notice. The one a monument of the Honorable Mrs. Bruce, 1798, contains a handsome slab, representing in the centre a funeral urn, around which two females are seated weeping, while an angel rises from it and wafts its flight towards heaven. The other is that of a medical officer. It represents him seated under a cocoa palm in the act of raising and supporting on his knee the head of a wounded traveller."

Suicide seems to have become so common both among the Europeans and natives in Calcutta, as to be editorially noticed in the papers. "Scarce a week has elapsed," says the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 6th September, 1787, "for a considerable period past, that our newspapers have not announced one or more shocking instances of suicide, either among the Europeans or Natives. To what cause to impute this melancholy disposition, we know not; nor can we pretend to say whether, in any respect, it may be ascribed to the influence of the climate; but we sincerely lament the general prevalence of so dreadful an infatuation."

"The sewage of an enormous native population lies festering under an appalling sum in open trenches, which run on either side of the streets, and are called "drains." These drains have no outfall, but the mass of filth which they contain is turned out occasionally upon the road—black, fetid, and

* This is a mistake. The name should be Ann Kiernander. There are older inscriptions in the Park Street cemeteries.

ghastly—and is ultimately carried off by sweepers. The streets are saturated with these abominations, and the air is filled with the poisons which they give forth."

The mistake of choosing such a site for the capital has been over and over again demonstrated. It is 150 miles from the sea; the south wind, which is the life of Calcutta, blows over salt marshes on its way to the city; and every ten years it is liable to the destructive effects of a cyclone. The river is so excessively dangerous that ships cannot go up or down without more care and vigilance than are required in the Red Sea, and all vessels are obliged to shut their ports on passing one particular shoal, lest they should heel over and get filled—catastrophes which have repeatedly happened.

That life is uncertain in such a city, and that the strongest constitution must be sorely tried there, while a weak one is nearly sure to succumb, cannot be a matter of surprise. Some people do well enough in Calcutta. There are men who are very hard to kill, not susceptible to fever, caring for nothing, able even to drink brandy by the pint under a tropical sun. But only a constitution of iron and nerves of still can possible come out of a long residence in the capital of our Indian Empire without sustaining vital injury.

It is nothing to the point to allege that people do live there for many years at a stretch—it is so everywhere. Such persons say, "Look at the average of deaths among the Europeans—it is not very high." But they do not include—for they cannot—the number of Englishmen and women who are compelled to leave the country with shattered constitutions, often in a dying state. It is the rule for a medical man in India, who despairs of saving his patient, to order him home. Frequently the sufferer is carried down to the steamer with scarcely the breath of life in him; and many of our countrymen have found their graves in the river ere yet their eyes were gladdened with the sight of the sea which lay between them and home. Many leave only to die, and the 150 miles of river kills them.

Burials at the Park Street Burial Ground of Europeans and East Indians.

Age from	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	1822	1823	1824	1825	1826	1827	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	Total.
1 to 10 years ...	10	9	35	33	41	42	46	57	67	71	74	64	53	55	78	39	33	57	54	72	990
11 to 20 „ ...	8	14	12	26	19	19	27	27	30	27	21	19	34	31	22	19	23	24	21	33	436
21 to 30 „ ...	28	27	38	38	64	94	80	49	88	59	66	85	66	62	45	32	50	33	49	76	1152
31 to 40 „ ...	19	26	20	26	55	53	54	50	60	45	49	65	52	31	44	35	45	30	40	58	857
41 to 50 „ ...	11	19	17	26	25	22	34	28	33	31	22	25	27	22	19	15	16	17	24	29	462
51 to 60 „ ...	4	3	12	9	13	11	17	12	17	16	15	15	17	13	12	7	23	14	9	16	255
61 to 70 „ ...	3	3	3	6	3	5	6	8	5	9	6	8	4	3	4	7	5	4	2	3	97
Over 70 „ ...	3	2	2	5	2	7	7	4	10	8	7	5	4	9	3	5	8	4	13	11	119
Total ...	86	103	139	169	222	253	271	235	310	266	260	286	260	226	227	159	203	183	212	298	4368
Ages not specified ...	39	41	58	41	43	21	11	12	14	4	12	8	9	9	6	1	5	3	5	3	345
Total Deaths ...	125	144	197	210	265	274	282	247	324	270	272	294	269	235	233	160	208	186	217	301	4713

When we look upon the preceding table of burials we are compelled to say it is a deception to speak of the low rate of mortality in Calcutta. The *dying* men are not counted. The English burial-grounds at Aden—where the graveyard is surely the most melancholy sight in the universe—and at Cairo tell their own tale. The path to India is strewn with the bodies of our countrymen who risked all and lost all in the attempt to serve their country, or to gain an independence for themselves in the East. Not till the sea gives up its dead can it be told how costly India has been to us, or how many whose hopeful faces were turned towards the East, were seen no more in the West.

Ladies are, as a rule, less injuriously affected by the climate of Calcutta than the men, but, on the other hand, its inroads upon them are more perceptible. The returned Indian who is told by his friends in England that he does not look as if he had been to India, because he is so pale, scarcely understands the remark. He has been used to see pale faces all around him in the cities of India, since exposure to the sun is at the best dangerous, and may be fatal.

HISTORY OF CHOLERA IN INDIA.

Various statements have been made respecting the earlier exhibitions of the spasmodic cholera, in different parts of India, the accuracy of which it is of course difficult to decide, since the common or sporadic sort assumes sometimes a malignancy which renders it difficult to be distinguished by its diagnostics from the other, though it is generically a different disease. A writer in one of the Calcutta papers affirms that he observed the pestilential cholera morbus amongst the Koorareeas a year before its appearance at Jessore; and in the Bengal Medical Reports, it is distinctly stated, as an undeniable fact, that the epidemic first appeared in the Nuddeah and Mymensing districts in May 1817, that it raged extensively there in June, and in July had reached the distant district of Dacca.

The disorder began to prevail at Jessore about April or May 1817, and its sudden ravages in the Jessore, Moorshedabad and Rajshaye districts, as well as at Calcutta, which it reached in September, excited the utmost alarm. In an account of the epidemic, given in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1818, the origin of the disease is attributed to the use of unwholesome food, namely, bad sable-fish and ouze or new rice, in conjunction with the extreme heat and drought of the season, followed by heavy rain and an extremely variable temperature; and with the want of free ventilation at Jessore, and its situation amidst rank vegetation. The natives of Bengal gave to this new disease the expressive name of *ola oot'ha.*

When it somewhat abated in Calcutta and its vicinity, the epidemic had extended into Behar, and in September and October was wasting Dinapore, Patna, and other large towns in the upper provinces, in some of which the deaths were near a hundred a day. In November, it unhappily reached the centre division of the grand army, under the Marquis Hastings, whilst marching easterly from the Sindh (branch of the Ganges), where it developed itself in its most terrific form, assailing Europeans as well as natives. It attacked the division on the 14th November, and for about ten days the camp was converted into a hospital, the deaths, which were unusually sudden, amounting to a tenth of the number collected. The roads were strewed, on each day's route, with the dead and dying, owing to the impossibility of finding means of transport. Here, as in other places, the disease ran its course, and abated in about a fortnight, which was then ascribed to the army's reaching in its advance a purer air, but which has since been found to be one of its characteristics.

It is worthy of remark here, that the infectious or contagious nature of the disease was doubted and denied at this early period of its career. In a report by Mr. Corbyn, then a sistant-surgeon in charge of the native hospital of the centre

division, dated Ereeh, on the Betwa, November 26, 1817, and published by order of Government, he observes: "That this disease is not infectious, I am perfectly convinced; all my attendants upon the sick have escaped the disease; and I have more particularly, at all hours of the day and night, respired the atmosphere of a crowded hospital with impunity."

Extending itself in various directions through the interior of India, it began to threaten our Western Presidency. In June 1818, it was at Nagpore; in August it reached Punderpoor, where it carried off 3,000 of a comparatively small population, Poonah, Panwell, and Bombay. In September it had reached Surat, and even Bassein in the Persian Gulf. Its progress in Central India had been equally rapid. In the same month it had spread itself through Rajpootana, where its ravages were fearful. Singular, however, to say, here, as well as in most other parts of India, in the early visits of the disease, Europeans were rarely victims to it.

The entrance of this terrific pest into the Madras territories, in August, was marked with circumstances of eccentricity. Whilst it raged at Ellore, Rajamundy, and other places, it left the Nizam's territories, on the north and north-east, perfectly free and untouched.

Between the period of its eruption in the month of August, 1817, and June, 1818, before it had reached either Madras or Bombay, it was computed that 150,000 persons had fallen victims to this plague in the Company's territories alone; and whole villages are represented to have been depopulated by death, or flight through fear of death. M. Moreau de Jonnes calculated, upon what data we know not, that one-tenth of the population of Hindostan was, in the whole, attacked by the epidemic, of which number one-sixth died.

In November it left Madras, where it first appeared in October, and attacked the French settlement of Pondicherry and

other places on the coast of Coromandel to the southward. From the peculiarity of its progress, it is difficult to avoid a phraseology which does not appear to sanction a vulgar notion entertained by the superstitious Asiatics, that the cholera morbus is a spirit or demon, moving in malignant wrath from place to place; and in compliance with this notion, it is almost universally the practice, from Ava to Persia and even in China, for the villagers to endeavour to ward off its approach by clamour and discordant noise, from "drums and timbrels loud."

The next year (1819) the malady extended the scene of its operations, and proved that it was entirely independent of climate and temperature; for whilst in January it reached Ceylon, it attained, in June, the valley of Nepaul, whence it penetrated over the Himalaya into Tibet and Tartary, in defiance of snows and a rarified atmosphere: the exhalations of the valleys in Tibet are supposed to have exerted a pernicious influence upon the disorder, and accelerated its activity.

Towards the latter part of the year, the disease had established itself in the ultra-Gangetic peninsula, having devastated Arracan, Malacca, and Penang, at both of which latter places the mortality was great. Of the small population of the island of Penang, it swept away, from the 23rd of October to the 14th of November, upwards of 800, principally Chuliahs, or inhabitants of the Coromandel coast.

Its introduction into the island of Mauritius was attended with cirumstances of some importance, as respects the theory of contagion. The disease appeared extensively in the island in November 1819, and has been supposed to have been brought there from Ceylon by the *Topaze* frigate, which arrived at the Mauritius in October.

The year 1820 saw the circle of this deadful scourge enlarged in a frightful degree, it having spread through the

whole of the vast Indo-Chinese countries. In September it was committing dreadful ravages in Siam, the entire country being in a deplorable state through the disease, and the misery and starvation consequent upon its visitation. No less than 40,000 persons died in the city of Bankok alone. In Cochin China and Tonquin, the devastation created by it was not inferior. At Manilla, too, it raged dreadfully, in November. But this period of the history of the disorder is remarkable from its first invading China, into which we need not enter.

Respecting this disease, which has proved such an awful scourge in Calcutta and India, it is a commonly received opinion that it broke out first in the Marquis of Hastings' army and made its appearance in the Nuddea district in 1813, but by a reference to old writers we find, that if not known as an *endemic* it was known as an *epidemic*, for something similar prevailed in Calcutta long before. Lind mentions that in the great sickness of 1762, "in which 30,000 blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of Bengal," it was remarked that a "constant vomiting of a white, tough, pellucid phlegm, accompanied with a continual diarrhœa, was deemed the most mortal symptom." Cholera was then called *Morte de Chien*, "very frequent, and fatal;" and the treatment was emetics, opiate, hartshorn, and water—the patient died in a few hours.

Thomas Dellon in 1698, writes of a disease called "the *Indian Mordechi*, which kills people in a few hours' time, accompanied with vomiting and looseness. The remedies reckoned effectual are applying a red hot iron to the feet across the ankles, and taking *Kanjee* water with pepper." When cholera as an epidemic broke out in the Marquis of Hastings' army, in the case of Europeans, it was accompanied by spasms, and intense thirst, but the doctors would not allow a drop of water to be given; "thought some men that got water by stealth rapidly recovered." Beside brandy and laudanum, one of the

remedies was placing the patient in a hot bath, and bleeding him while there, in the arms.

The *popular* notion is that cholera morbus first broke out in India in 1817, in the district of Jessore, but we hear of its ravages among the troops at Vellore as early as 1787. From the extracts we have above given, it would appear that it was known many years before, but under other names.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ROBBERIES AND DACOITY.

THE *Calcutta Chronicle* of February 19, 1789, relates, with strong expressions of disapprobation, an instance of the punishment of a gang of dacoits found guilty of burglary at a place near Kishnaghur, and sent by Francis Redfearn, Esq., to be tried at the Criminal Court at Sulkea, on the western bank of the river, opposite to Calcutta:—

"At 1 o'clock, on Sunday, February 15th, the fourteen criminals were brought out to undergo the sentence passed upon them, to the Sair Bazar, a little to the southward of the Orphan House. The horrible scene is thus described: One of the dacoits was extended upon his back, with a fillet or band covering his mouth, and tied at the back of his head, to prevent his cries being heard by the others, who were witnesses of the fate they were themselves to experience. He was then pinioned to the ground with only his right hand and left leg at liberty. This done, the operator began to amputate the hand. It was performed with an instrument like a carving knife, not at a stroke, but by cutting and hacking round about the wrist, to find out the joint; and in about three minutes the hand was off. The same mode was observed in amputating the foot at the ankle joint. Both operations took up together from six to eight minutes in performing. After the hand and foot were off, the extremities of the wounded parts were dipped in boiling ghee; and then he was left to his fate. The other thirteen were served in the same manner: yet, what will appear very strange, not one of them expired under the severity of the operation. The hands and feet of the criminals were thrown into the river. Four of the men have since died, but more from the influence of the sun on the wounded parts,

and through want of care, than from the more than savage cruelty of the operation."

In April 1790, the same punishment was inflicted upon an incendiary at Moorshedabad. It was a Mohamadan penalty, and was resorted to in the case of the dacoits, in the hope of striking terror into the hearts of the numerous robbers who were devastating the country in so many districts, and producing everywhere so much alarm. It is hoped and believed that the above were the only instances in which so ferocious a punishment was administered under British authority. In 1793, a Regulation of Government made it illegal to inflict mutilation, and prescribed imprisonment in lieu of it.

Mr. G. C. Meyer, Superintendent of Police, under date the 2nd November 1791, issued the following notice:—"Whereas a robbery was committed on Tuseday night, the 1st instant, on the Chowringhy Road, by three Europeans, supposed to be sailors, who made their escape with a gold watch, capped and jewelled, the maker's name John Holmes, London, and a gold chain and seal engraved with a lion rampant,—whoever will produce the said watch, chain and seal, and give information of the offenders, so that they may be apprehended and convicted, shall receive a reward of four hundred rupees."

Murders and robberies were of very frequent occurrence in the heart of the city; and, in the suburbs, armed gangs of these marauders sometimes boldly paraded the highways by torch-light. Within the city, where offences against life and property were perpetrated more cautiously, craft took the place of effrontery. The single thief committed his nightly depredations, having his naked body smeared over with oil, so that it was next to impossible to hold him. *Hicky's Gazette* recommended that a long bamboo with a triple iron hook at the end of it, should be kept in readiness for detaining such visitors. In November 1788, two Bengali policemen were apprehended in an attempt to rob the house of a wealthy native, in a very

different style; "they had disguised themselves in the dress of Portuguese, with their hair curled, frizzed, and powdered, cocked hats, and very smart coats, stockings, &c."

River dacoity seems to have been carried on fearlessly. The dacoits infested the Sunderbunds, and the river leading to and from Dacca. We hear of them coming in bands of seven, fourteen and twenty-four boats; and attacking Europeans as well as natives, and stripping them of their goods, and when opposed adding murder to their misdeeds. Mr. Burgh, on his way to Calcutta, was killed and thrown into the river on the 3rd November 1788; two European gentlemen proceeding towards Dacca, were the next day attacked and left even without their clothes; and on that evening Mr. Willes, proceeding from Sylhet, fell in with the same party, and though he escaped into the jungle, his boats were plundered. These are but a few of the robberies committed. A list of some dozen is given in the *Gazette*. Mr. Henckell, the Magistrate at Jessore, and Mr. Ewart, the Salt Agent at Jynagur, were obliged to resort to severe measures, to put down these daring pirates. Thirty-three persons were apprehended, who were supposed to have been concerned in the above robberies, and severe punishment inflicted on the robbers. This had the effect of putting down their daring depredations.

There existed in the early part of the year 1795, a rather formidable gang of robbers, consisting of English, Portuguese, Italians and other foreigners, who had committed various burglaries in the houses of rich native merchants. A party of five Europeans and a Bengalee committed a burglary on the house of Choiton Seal in the China Bazar, on the night of the 18th February, and through one of the party, who had been engaged in this affair, turning king's evidence, the whole gang was captured and future depredations prevented. This must have been a formidable set of thieves, as in the evidence it came out that the whole gang was likely soon to number no less

than two hundred individuals, and as soon as such a muster could be got, the Hindustan Bank was to have been attacked and plundered. At that time burglary was a capital crime, and on their being convicted these five Europeans and the Hindoo were sentenced to be hanged, which sentence was carried into execution "at the meeting of the four roads near the public office of the Justices of the Peace."

It would appear that it was anything but safe to be out late at night on the Maidan. We read in a paper of the 1st September 1791—"Last night about 10 o'clock, a very daring robbery was committed near the new Fort, on Mr. Masseyk, who was in his palanqueen, by eight Europeans, supposed to be soldiers; after wounding him severely, they took from him his shoe-buckles, and every valuable he had about him."

Several roberies were committed within the months of March and April 1795, on the Calcutta Esplanade, and the roads leading to and from Fort William, by Europeans disguised in various dresses, who were proved to be private soldiers from the garrison.

The *John Bull* tells us that while in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly, the tent of the Governor of Madras, in his way to the Neilgherries, was "entered by thieves and robbed of the whole of its contents, not even excepting His Excellency's wearing apparel."

THE INDIAN ROBBER.

Robbers in India are remarkable for the dexterity with which they accomplish their schemes of plunder. They are certainly, in this particular, exceeded by those of no other nation in the world. They have been known to enter a bungalow and remove everything worth taking, leaving the party to whom it belonged and his wife upon the cane-work of the bedstead on which they slept, with no other covering except their night-clothes, and this without waking either. Achievements of this

kind were matters of almost daily accomplishment by those dexterous marauders who infested the northern boundary of the Gangetic plain and many other parts of Hindostan. It was their custom to aporoach the tent or bungalow which they intended to rob, imitating, during their approach, the dismal howl of a pariah dog, or the cries of jackals, in order, should their approach be heard, to lull suspicion, as the proximity of either of those animals would of course excite no alarm. They usually advanced upon their bellies, made a slight incision at the bottom of the tent, through which they thrust their heads and, having made the requisite observations entered and secured their booty. Upon reaching a bungalow, if the wall were of mud, they soon perforated it, and if of brick, they undermined it with great skill and despatch, seldom failing to carry off everything valuable within, if once they could effect an entrance.

A Captain of the Bengal Native Infantry, was proceeding from Delhi to the Himalaya Mountains, in the year 1827, when he was placed in a situation of much difficulty and equal danger by one of those contingencies to which travellers were, more or less, exposed in every part of India. The cries of jackals at night were among their most common annoyances, but they soon became so familiarized with these wild and discordant sounds that they ceased to regard them. They were frequently heard a distance of several miles, and upon first entering the country a foreigner could obtain no rest from the incessant uproar made by those restless creatures, which, being gregarious, go in immense packs, positively infesting every region of the east.

Captain A— had pitched his tent in the neighbourhood of Hurdwar, a place eminently celebrated for its sanctity as a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, situated on the western side of the Ganges, where it issues into the plains of Bengal from the northern hills. This place of sacred concourse is a hundred and ten miles north-east from Delhi. "Fatigued with a long

and harassing march the gallant officer had retired early to rest, having pitched his tent under a tope, or grove of trees, a short distance beyond the boundaries of the town, northward. Having placed his pistols, which were loaded with ball, under his pillow, and his sabre upon a chair by the side of his bed he addressed himself to sleep. As usual the nightly serenading of the jackals was heard, but he had been too well seasoned to such interruptions to be diverted from his repose. He was, however, rather struck by the fact of these creatures being much nearer the tent than it was usual with them to venture; still he was suffering too severely from fatigue to allow a circumstance so trifling to arrest his slumbers. Aware that he had nothing which could become the prey of jackals, he resigned himself to sleep in perfect security, and slept soundly for several hours. Towards morning he awoke greatly chilled and found himself lying upon the bed, to his utter amazement quite uncovered, without even a curtain to protect him from the musquitoes which, during the night, had held carnival upon his body, particularly upon the soles of his feet, the palms of his hands, and his face, which were all stiff and painful, besides being so swelled and irritated by the poison of those tormenting insects, that he could scarcely either walk or see. He immediately summoned his servants. The light suspended from the pole of his tent in a globe lamp had been extinguished; they were consequently obliged to obtain a fresh light, which, after considerable delay, was procured.

"Upon examining the tent it appeared that the bed was entirely stripped, nothing remaining but the mattrass and bedstead. The pistols and sword were missing. Everything of value had been carried off, nothing in fact being left but a few changes of wearing apparel and the tent furniture, which had no doubt been found by the robber too cumbersome to remove. This really was a grievous loss to the sufferer, from the difficulty existing in supplying the necessaries of which he had been so

unexpectedly deprived. It was quite impossible to proceed without certain essentials; but how to obtain these was the question, as they are not usually found in Hindoo towns. * * *

"The second day after the Captain and his young companion had quitted Hurdwar, a native of the lowest caste came up with the bullock drivers, and entering into familiar conversation with them, joined the homely cavalcade. Captain A. happened at this time to be in the rear of his palankeen, on horseback, having set out some time after the bullocks which conveyed the baggage. He had suffered so severely from headache the previous night that he did not feel disposed to start so early as his followers. He observed the man join the bullock drivers, but as they seemed readily to enter into dicourse with him as if he were an old comrade, there was nothing in this at all singular; it therefore excited no suspicion, though our traveller was somewhat struck by the peculiarity of the man's air, and the inquisitive manner in which he appeared to survey every thing that arrested his attention.

"The officious stranger occasionally assisted in urging on the oxen, sluggish from over-fatigue and bad feeding, and once or twice forwardly aided the drivers in adjusting some portions of the baggage, which having become loose chafed the poor animals' backs. Still there was nothing in his manner positively to excite suspicion, such being matters of very common occurrence on all the public routes through Hindostan; the earnestness of the man's actions, however, might have indicated to a quick observer intentions not very evident to ordinary scrutiny. * * *

"Captain A. and his companion retired early to rest in the same tent, the one being feverish and wakeful, the other fatigued and sleepy. The former was excited and restless; his thoughts reverting to the late robbery, kept him in a state of irritable excitement, and every sound that reached his ear caused him to apprehend the approach of an enemy.

"About an hour after midnight, the attention of the wakeful man was challenged by a noise, something like the baying of a hound; he listened. It was singularly unnatural, though utterly remote from anything human. It approached perceptibly nearer, continued for an interval of several minutes, and then ceased altogether. What could this mean? For some time all was still, nevertheless the eye of the traveller wandered cautiously and watchfully round the tent, as he now began to feel a painful apprehension of danger. The recent robbery made him the more suspicious; still not choosing to provoke needless alarm, he determined patiently but guardedly to await the issue, which could not now be remote. A lamp suspended from a silken cord, attached to a bracket and pully fixed in the pole of the tent, burned so brightly as to render everything clearly distinguishable. After a while he perceived the canvas on one side of the tent near the ground, gently stirred, as if by a gradual and cautious pressure, and almost immediately a black head was protruded through an incision made by a knife, the bright blade gleaming in the lamplight. The head was withdrawn for a few moments and again protruded. This was several times repeated, an interval of perhaps a minute intervening. None of the sleepers outside were disturbed; that hard sonorous breathing which indicates profound slumber was heard within the tent. It was evident that none but the stranger was awake without.

"Captain A. could no longer entertain any doubts as to the intention of the villain, whose head he had seen through the cleft canvas, still he was anxious to capture the robber; he lay perfectly still, determined either to kill or secure the intruder, should he enter the tent for the purpose of plunder, which was clearly his intention. This was, more than probably, the same fellow who had plundered him a few days previously, and he was resolved, if possible, to visit him now with merited retribution. Again the head was protruded, when Captain A. distinctly

recognised the features of the man who had joined the bullock drivers and so officiously forced his services upon them. He had a different turban bound tightly round his forehead, but the features were not to be mistaken. Once more the head was withdrawn. This cautious process had been repeated several times, until it was evidently presumed that the occupants of the tent were asleep, when the elder, who with tremulous anxiety had kept his eyes upon the spot from the first moment he had perceived the canvas move, saw the man, whose head had been protruded, slowly drag his body through the opening. He was perfectly naked, and armed only with a knife, pointed at the end and having a broad double-edged blade-like dagger. The intruder approached the couch on which Captain A. lay, he pretending the while to be in a profound sleep, which he feigned in order that he might attack the robber in the act of plunder. Considering that he was at least a match for a single native only armed with a knife, he forbore to awake his companion, who was still wrapped in profound slumber. Since the robbery already mentioned, he had nightly concealed his pistols under the mattrass upon which he lay, so likewise had his companion.

"The robber having minutely examined the pillows of either couch with so gentle a hand as would not have shaken the dew from a rosebud, and being persuaded that there were no arms under either, proceeded to the bed of the younger officer, and having satisfied himself that he continued asleep, commenced his operations of plunder with the deliberate skill of a practised pillager. His adroitness in his calling was not to be mistaken. Every lock was opened in a few seconds, so that there should be no occasion for halting after he once commenced operations. Having arranged everything apparently to his satisfaction, he examined each article with great care, but without the slightest embarrassment, and then promptly making up his mind what was worth securing, he rapidly collected the approved moveables and placed them together in the centre of

the tent. All this was done without the slightest noise; their owner still feigning sleep and breathing laboriously in order the better to keep up the illusion. As soon as the bandit had made his selection, he took the palampore, or counterpane, from the couch nearest at hand, and spreading it open, deliberately placed the things upon it and tied them securely ready to carry off. He searched carefully for money, but was disappointed, as our travellers had taken care to place their rupees with their swords and pistols under the mattrass of their beds. Though foiled in this particular, the man had collected sufficient plunder to provide for his wants for a full year to come. Having carefully looked over the trunks he made a salaam towards each couch, as if to thank its occupants for his easy success.

"Being now prepared to decamp with his booty, the robber took a towel, and, steeping it in the water-ewer, which was on a stand near the pole of the tent, pitched it dexterously into the glass globe containing the lamp. Fortunately, the globe being a very large one, the towel slipped down the side and escaped the wick, this being fixed in a high glass within the crystal receptacle. Nothing perplexed, the bandit took a second towel, and having soaked it with water as before, was in the act of throwing it upon the light, which, had he succeeded, would have secured his escape, when Captain A. who had by this time grasped his sabre, started suddenly from his couch and rushed upon the intruder. The man, not at all dismayed at being thus unexpectedly discovered, sprang behind the pole of the tent, grasping the knife with which he was armed, firmly in his right hand. The first stroke aimed at his head by a strong and active arm he adroitly parried gliding round the tent-pole, so as completely to baffle the efforts of his foe. At length Captain A. after many vain attempts to strike a successful blow, observing a favourable opportunity, struck impetuously at the intruder's neck, which the latter suddenly depressed, when the stroke, dealt with a vigorous hand, fell on the pole which such violence

that the blade of the avenger's sword snapt off at the hilt. He was now unarmed, though not at the mercy of his enemy, for without a moment's delay he cast the bladeless hilt from him, and attempted to seize the robber, who being oiled all over and quite naked, easily slipped from his grasp, and at the same moment striking him in the side with his knife, darted towards the opening through which he had entered. Captain A. though bleeding copiously, rushed after him, dashed off the fellow's turban, and seizing him by the hair, drew him backward into the tent. The bandit still grasped his knife, and, being extremely active, was quickly on his feet. His antagonist, though severely cut, laid his hand upon the murderous instrument, which the man instantly relinquished, and by a sudden movement again freed himself from the clutch of his excited enemy. Feeling himself free, he plunged through the opening, but his escape was arrested by a surer hand.

"The younger officer, having been awakened by the noise, had secured one of his pistols, and quitting his couch, discharged it at the robber just as the latter was in the act of effecting his escape. The bullet, true to the aim and purpose of him who directed it, struck the luckless wretch on the head, which it passed completely through, and he rolled backward in the fearful struggles of death. After a few frightful contortions, a spasm, and a groan, he expired. He proved to be, as had been previously concluded, the man who had shared the bullock drivers' hospitality, as already recorded. Upon examining the turban which lay on the tent-floor, Captain A.'s gold watch, and the money of which he had taken charge, a hundred gold mohurs, was found curiously secreted between the folds, which sufficiently identified this with the former robber."

CHAPTER XIX.

INDIAN JUGGLERS.

"I was once in the presence of the emperor of Hindustan," says Ibn Batuta, "when two Yogees, wrapt up in cloaks, with their heads covered, came in. The emperor caressed them, and said, pointing to me, 'This is a stranger; show him what he has never yet seen.' They said, 'We will.' One of them then assumed the form of a cube, and rose from the earth, and in this cubic shape he occupied a place in the air over our heads. I was so much astonished and terrified at this that I fainted and fell to the earth. The emperor then ordered me some medicine which he had with him, and upon taking this, I recovered and sat up: this cubic figure still remaining in the air just as it had been. His companion then took a sandal belonging to one of those who had come out with him, and struck it upon the ground, as if he had been angry. The sandal then ascended, until it became opposite in situation with the cube. It then struck it upon the neck, and the cube descended gradually to the earth, and at last rested in the place which it had left. The emperor then told me that the man who took the form of a cube was a disciple to the owner of the sandal; and, continued he, 'Had I not entertained fears for the safety of thy intellect, I should have ordered them to show thee greater things than these.' From this, however, I took a palpitation at the heart, until the emperor ordered me a medicine, which restored me."

Some itinerant jugglers display tricks which it is almost impossible to solve. Amongst their many extraordinary tricks may be mentioned one which, though done in England and by Europeans in India by means of trap doors and hanging drapery on a stage, is exhibited by the Indian on the open roadway, and before any number of spectators in the light of day. We allude to the mysterious disappearance of an individual, either a boy

or a girl. In an old paper of 1797, we find the following graphic description of the puzzle: "A handsome young girl, covered with ornaments and dressed as a bride, is brought into the room by the conjuror. An open wicker-work basket, in size and shape resembling a beehive, is then produced; the girl sits down on the floor in the centre of the room, and salaaming to all the company first, is then covered over by the basket. Over this the husband (the conjuror) flings a couple of sheets, so as to exclude her entirely from view; a conversation then ensues between the juggler and the girl under the basket, in which the former accuses her of unfaithfulness, a reproach to which the girl at first replies indignantly; gradually the man gets more and more excited, and holds forth threats, at which the frightened girl begins to remonstrate, and finally supplicates for mercy. The conjuror is, however, by this time to all appearance wound up to a pitch of fury, and suddenly to the horror of the unitiated portion of his spectators unsheathes his sword, and runs it through and through the basket in every direction: shrieks of alarm and pain, which gradually grow fainter and fainter, ensue; the basket absolutely writhes, as though moved by the quivering touch of the murdered girl; blood streams out from under the basket, the sword is bathed in gore, and a faint suffocating groan proclaimed to the spectators that the deed was done. The bloodstained murderer then coolly wipes the sword and returns it to the scabbard, and salaaming to the spectators tells them that he has been well avenged on his wife for her infidelity; he then takes deliberately one sheet at a time, and shaking them well folds them up; this done, he kicks over the basket and exposes to view—the floor of the room. No woman, nor child, nor blood, nor any trace of the occupant of the basket, is to be found. The juggler, who pretends to be as much astonished as any one else at the marvellous disappearance of his wife, calls imploringly on her to return. Lutchmee, for so is the girl usually named, answers to the call, and the astounded spectators turn simultaneously to the door, where the assembled

servants, who have been peeping in with silent awe, are seen speedily clearing a passage for some one, who they have not the slightest doubt must be a daughter of a *pishash*, (ghost), and the pretty little Lutchmee comes running into the room, all smiles and salaams, scatheless as any of the party present, and apparently much amused at the surprise depicted in every one's countenance."

Indian jugglers appear (in 1814) to have been thought more of in England than they are now. A party of these, consisting of two men and a boy, were taken to England from Madras by the captain of the *Monarch*. They performed three times a day in Pall Mall, and their gains were for a single month of twenty-six days (excluding Sundays) not short of £1,638! The party after "doing" London, intended travelling all over the three kingdoms, where they hoped to net large profits. It appears that the *swallowing of swords* trick was what had taken the people of England by surprize.

Miss Eden relates the following about a Madras juggler:—"He did all the tricks the Indian jugglers do with balls and balancing, and swallowing a sword, &c., and then he spit fire in large flames, and put a little rice into the top of a basket or small tray, and shook it, and *before our eyes* a tiny handful of rice turned into a large quantity of cowrie shells. Then he made a little boy, who is one of my servants, sit down, and he put a small black pebble into his hand and apparently did nothing but wave a little *baguette* round his head, and forty rupees came tumbling out of the boy's little hands. He made him pick them up again, and hold them as tight as he could, and in an instant the rupees were all gone, and a large live frog jumped out."

Here is another trick, equally marvellous:—"One day Mr. Smyth told me that he expected to receive a visit from a native, an amateur conjuror, who would perform some amusing tricks. When he entered the room he spread a white cloth upon the floor, and sat down upon it with his back to the wall, the door

of the room being on his right hand. His spectators were disposed in the following fashion: Mr. Smyth sat on a chair nearly in the middle of the room, I was sitting on a sofa near the door, the Parsee merchant stood in the doorway about an arm's length from me. The servants stood about in groups, the largest group being between the door and the conjuror. As soon as he had settled himself, he turned to the Parsee and asked for the loan of a rupee. The pedlar at first demurred a little, but, on being guaranteed against loss, he produced the coin. He was going to put it into the conjuror's hand, but the latter refused, and told the Parsee to hand it to Mr. Smyth's bearer. The bearer took it, and at the request of the conjuror, looked at it and declared it to be really a rupee. The conjuror then told him to hand it to his master. Mr. Smyth took it, and then followed this dialogue:—Conjuror: "Are you sure that is a rupee?"—Smyth: "Yes."—Conjuror: "Close your hand on it and hold it tight. Now think of some country in Europe, but do not tell me your thought." Then the conjuror ran over the names of several countries, such as France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, and *America*—for the native of India is under the impression that America is in Europe. After a moment's pause Mr. Smyth said he had thought of a country. "Then open your hand," said the juggler, "see what you have got, and tell me if it is a coin of the country you thought of." It was a five-franc piece and Mr. Smyth had thought of France. He was going to hand the coin to the conjuror, but the latter said, "No, pass it to the other sahib." Mr. Smyth accordingly put the five-franc piece into my hand; I looked closely at it, then shut my hand and thought of Russia. When I opened it I found, *not* a Russian but a *Turkish* silver piece about the size of the five-franc, or of our own crown piece. This I handed to Mr. Smyth, and suggested that he should name America, which he did, and found a Mexican dollar in his hand. The coin, whatever it was, had never been in the conjuror's hand from the time the rupee was borrowed from the Parsee merchant.

Mr. Smyth and his bearer had both of them closely examined the rupee, and Mr. Smyth and I turned over several times the five-franc piece, the Turkish coin, and the dollar; so the trick did not depend on reversible coin. Indeed it could not, for the coin underwent three changes, as has been seen. I need only add, for the information of those who know not India, that a rupee is only about the size of a florin, and therefore about half the weight of a five-franc piece."

On another occasion the same juggler is called upon to perform:—

"As before, he was seated on a white cloth, which this time I think was a table cloth, borrowed from the mess sergeant. He asked some one present to produce a rupee, and to lay it down at the remote edge of the cloth. The cloth being three or four yards in length, the conjuror could not have touched the coin without being seen, and, in fact, did not touch it. He then asked for a signet ring. Several were offered him, and he chose out one which had a very large oval seal, projecting well beyond the gold hoop on both sides. This ring he tossed and tumbled several times in his hands, now throwing it into the air and catching it, then shaking it between his clasped hands, all the time mumbling half articulate words in some Hindustanee *patois*. Then setting the ring down on the cloth at about half-arm's length in front of him, he said, slowly and distinctly in good Hindustanee, "Ring, rise up and go to the rupee. The ring rose, with the seal uppermost, and resting on the hoop, slowly, with a kind of dancing or jerking motion, it passed over the cloth until it came to where the rupee lay on the remote edge; then it lay down on the coin. The conjuror then said, "Ring, lay hold of the rupee, and bring it to me." The projecting edge of the seal seemed to grapple the edge of the coin; the ring and the rupee rose into a kind of wrestling attitude and with the same dancing and jerking motion, the two returned to within reach of the juggler's hand."

We shall only make mention of another performance which occurred at Fort William. It appeared to have a strong resemblance to the feats recorded in sacred history, as having been performed by the magicians of Egypt, in the time of Moses, and in the presence of Pharaoh. Indeed, as is well known that the Hindu tricks have been handed down from the most distant ages, from father to son, there is little wonder that such a similarity can exist. The particular trick alluded to, is the apparent conversion of a brass coin into a snake:—" The juggler gave me the coin to hold, and then seated himself, about five yards from me, on a small rug, from which he never attempted to move during the whole performance. I showed the coin to several persons who were close beside me, on a form in front of the juggler. At a sign from him, I not only grasped the coin I held firmly in my right hand, but, crossing that hand with equal tightness with my left, I enclosed them both as firmly as I could between my knees. Of course I was positively certain that the small coin was within my double fists. The juggler them began a sort of incantation, accompanied by a monotonous and discordant kind of recitative, and, repeating the words, Ram, Sammu, during some minutes. He then suddenly stopped and, still keeping his seat, made a quick motion with his right hand, as if throwing something at me, giving at the same time a puff with his mouth. At that instant I felt my hands suddenly distend, and become partly open, while I experienced a sensation as if a cold bàll of dough, or something equally soft, nasty, and disagreeable was now between my palms. I started to my feet in astonishment, also to the astonishment of others, and opening my hands, found there no coin, but to my horror and alarm (for of all created things I detest and loathe the genus), I saw a young snake, all alive-oh! and of all snakes in the world, a cobra-di-capello, folded, or rather coiled, roundly up. I threw it instantly to the ground, trembling with rage and fear, as if already bitten by the deadly reptile, which began immediately to crawl along the ground, to the alarm and

amazement of every one present. The juggler now got up for the first time since he had sat down, and catching hold of the snake displayed its length, which was nearly two feet—two feet all but an inch and-a-half. He then took it cautiously by the tail, and opening his own mouth to its widest extent, let the head of the snake drop into it, and deliberately commenced to swallow the animal, till the end of the tail only was visible: then making a sudden gulp, the whole of the snake was apparently swallowed. After this, he came up to the spectators, and opening his mouth wide, permitted us to look into his throat, but no snake or snake's tail was visible, it was seemingly down his throat altogether. During the remainder of the performances, we never saw this snake again, nor did the man profess his ability to make it re-appear; but he performed another snake-trick, which surprised us very much. He took from a bag another cobra-di-capello, and, walking into the centre of the room, enclosed it in his hands in a folded state. He waved, or shook them for some time in this condition, and then opened his fists, when, hey! presto!—the snake was gone, and in its place appeared several small ones, which he suffered to fall from his hands, when they glided, with their peculiar undulating movement, almost like the waves of the sea, about the floor."

We reproduce the subjoined account of Hassan Khan and his performances, from a paper which some time since appeared in the columns of the *Englishman*:—

"One of his favourite tricks was to borrow a watch and transport it to some unthought of place and send the owner to find it. Being present at a select party at the house of a European gentleman then residing in Upper Circular Road, he politely asked a lady to give him her watch. After the usual by-play, in the view of all present, he flung the watch with force from an upper verandah into a tank in front of the house. Every one saw the watch, with the chain dangling, whisk through the

air, and fall into the water. A short time after, the fair owner of the watch waxing impatient, he requested her to go into the next room and hold out her hand for it. She did so, and behold the watch and chain, both dripping wet, came into her hand. Among several others, a gentleman to be met with daily not fifty miles from St. John's Church, can attest the truth of what is here stated. At another time Hassan Khan was at the house of a gentleman whose watch he borrowed, and shortly after, when asked for its return, protested that he never took the watch and that his host had not brought it home, but left it within the desk of his office, which was situated in another street. The desk key was in the gentleman's pocket all the time, and yielding to Hassan Khan's challenge he drove over to his office at that hour of the night, had the room opened, and unlocking his desk found the watch quite safe inside. Another watch trick was played in a place of business in Dalhousie Square. He took a watch and a ring belonging to different owners and tied up the two with a handkerchief. After a while he pointed to a press, and enquired if it was locked and who had the key. The owner produced the key from his pocket, the press was opened, and ring, watch and handkerchief found inside of it. There was another class of exhibitions in which, it is said, Hassan Khan loved to display his occult powers, whatever they may have been. Without any regard to time, place, or circumstances, he could at will produce a bag of sandwiches and cakes, or beer, wine, and brandy of any mark and quality required. He would not bring them forth from his person or with his own hands: but wherever he might be at the time, he would warn the company that it was approaching, when suddenly the bag or the bottle would become visible to the spectators, suspended in mid air, and one of them had to seize upon it. In every case the edible or potable was the best of its kind. Who or what this man was, has never been satisfactorily explained. He went about freely, was to be seen everywhere, and mixed with all sorts of people; but he was always enshrouded in an impenetrable mystery."

CHAPTER XX.

OVERLAND ROUTE.

In the present day a propensity to visit England, even by persons born and bred in India, is much greater than that which existed in the old times. Occasionally we meet with an old Indian, who has never set his foot on British soil since he arrived in India; but this class of men is becoming rapidly extinct. The comfort, the rapidity, the security and the cheapness of the passage, particularly since the opening of the Suez canal, tempt many to undertake it, who when a ship was five or six months on its way, and an indifferent cabin cost £500, would have prolonged their residence in India, till wealth enabled, or health compelled, the worn-out old Indian to retire finally from the scene of his labors. Mr. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" says:—"The captains of the homeward bound Indiamen demand eight thousand rupees (£1000) for the passage of a single person, and fifteen thousand for that of a gentleman and his wife."

The proper method of making the passage between Bombay and the Persian Gulf and Red Sea at different periods of the year is, says an old authority, to take advantage of the monsoons. This passage to India is the most ancient on record. Long before the discovery of the magnet, we are told that the uniform steadiness of the monsoon in this sea, answered the purpose of the compass to the inhabitants of these parts, who fearlessly ran across to the Malabar coast in their primitive ships, guided by its direction, and returned in the same manner, at particular periods of the year.

The majority of our readers will doubtless be familiar with that strange episode in the history of the Madras Presidency, when the Governor, Lord Pigot, was placed in confinement by

his own council. They may not be equally aware of the fact that both parties attempted to avoid the loss of time attendant upon a voyage round the Cape by despatching trusty messengers up the Red Sea and across Egypt. The following particulars of the journey of one of these parties, as far as Cosseir, we obtain from the *Pioneer*.

Lord Pigot made use of the friendly services of Mr. Eyles Irwin, apparently "a writer" in the employ of the East India Company, while the "rebel Government," as Mr. Irwin designates the Opposition, sent off Captain Dibdin and another gentleman. The latter were the more fortunate. Although obliged by contrary winds to land at Tor, near the mouth of the Gulf of Suez, they succeeded in obtaining camels to carry them in safety to Suez; and being unencumbered with personal effects, they escaped molestation at the hands alike of Turks and Arabs. Not so Mr. Eyles Irwin.

His experiences while striving to hasten homewards with Lord Pigot's private despatches he describes with wearisome minuteness in a quarto volume, published by J. Dodsley, and purporting to consist of a series of letters addressed to a lady, with the becoming motto, *Infandum, Regina jubes renovare dolorem.* From first to last he was unfortunate. It was not until the 42nd day out from Madras that the snow *Adventure*, Captain Bacon, carrying eight 3-pounders besides swivels, sighted Socotra on the 31st March; nor was it until the 9th April that she ran through the Straits of Babelmandeb. Though the voyage from Mocha usually occupied only three weeks, the *Adventure* took eight weeks, and this delay was the primary cause of all the subsequent mishaps which befell Mr. Irwin and his travelling companions—Major Henry Alexander, Mr. Anthony Hammond, and a certain Lieutenant, whose name is generously withheld for reasons which will shortly appear.

Some years previously an East Indiaman was accustomed to call at Mocha once every year for a cargo of coffee; but in

1777 the fragrant berry was conveyed to Bombay in country bottoms. The business of the port, indeed, was entirely "transacted by Buniah or Gentoo merchants;" while the only representative of Europe was an English gentleman named Horseley. At Mocha Captain Bacon landed a lakh and a half of rupees, worth at that time £20,000, being an offering to the mosque at Mecca from the impecunious Nabob of the Carnatic, who also provided for the gratuitous passage of two or three pilgrims every year for the sake of their prayers on his behalf. As these pilgrims were for the most part an unclean, mutinous, troublesome set of devotees, few ship-captains cared to be encumbered with them, and consequently the Nabob found himself obliged, notwithstanding his pecuniary difficulties, to maintain a vessel for the sole purpose of conveying those idle ragamuffins to and fro.

"Having taken on board fresh supplies of wood, water, and other necessaries, the *Adventure* set sail for Suez on the 6th April. At that season the wind in those parts blows pretty steadily from the northward, and thus, after much patient tacking, the daily progress varied from ten to twenty miles. By the 7th of May, however, the snow was off Yambo, situated in 24° 10′ N, and about 150 leagues from Suez; but became so hopelessly involved in a net-work of reefs, that the captain was compelled to anchor for the night, in the hope of obtaining an experienced pilot to guide him clear of all further risk.

"This was the first European ship that had ever visited that port; but it was known that the Vizier had exhibited much thoughtful kindness to Captain Adams of the *Aurora*, which had lately been wrecked upon that dangerous coast. On this occasion, also, the Vizier appeared anxious to do all in his power to aid his helpless visitors who accepted his pressing invitation to land and enjoy his hospitality.

"Nothing could exceed the suavity of his manner. He at once sent for the two chief pilots; but they, being taught their

part beforehand, positively refused to undertake the responsibility of piloting so large a ship up the Gulf of Suez in the teeth of adverse winds.

"Captain Bacon then asked for a pilot to take his ship back to Jeddah, and for a boat to convey his passengers to Suez. This request was at once granted, but, as it was becoming late, the little party were recommended to remain on shore for the night in the house of a courteous Sheikh. To this they readily assented; but were somewhat startled on being informed that they could not leave the port until instructions had been received from the Xerif of Mecca. A guard was then placed on the land-side of their house, and they were soon afterwards joined by the sailors left in charge of the boat, which was removed out of the way.

"The captain thereupon wrote to his chief mate to weigh or slip anchor and run down to Jeddah for assistance. This note was read to the Vizier by the interpreter as being an order to bring the ship into the port, and was accordingly sent off by an Arab messenger.

"By that time dinner was served, and, notwithstanding their troubles, they contrived to dispose of a large dishful of stewed mutton, garnished with raw onions, using their fingers as knives and forks, and flat cakes for plates, which also they devoured. The chief officer meanwhile shook out his sails and was preparing to weigh anchor, when the cable parted, and the vessel drifted towards a reef from which she was saved with much difficulty. Captain Bacon next day persuaded the Vizier to send off the "mariners" to the ship, as though the crew on board were too weak to manage her. A boatful of armed Arabs, however, accompanied the sailors, but were not allowed to go on board.

"The Vizier then threw off the mask entirely, and summoning two Arab chiefs of the neighbourhood, opened a heavy

musketry fire upon the *Adventure*. Mr. Irwin congratulates his friends and himself upon the rare prudence of the mate, who forcibly prevented his crew from discharging a broadside into their assailants, though he admits that the fort was such a tumble-down structure that it could easily have been knocked to pieces. But in those days the death of a Mussulman at the hands of Christians usually led to fearful reprisals—for the Moslem was still a name of terror. At the same time it is not impossible that a resolute attitude would have brought the Vizier to his senses, especially if a few of those 3-pounders came whizzing past his own ears.

"Be that as it may, the officer's forbearance brought about an agreement to which the Vizier and three Arabs of distinction swore by their beards, the former strengthening his affirmation by the present of a handkerchief, on which it is remarked that "pledges of this nature among the Orientals amount to the most serious engagements."

"When the firing began, Mr. Irwin was tranquilly reading Thomson's *Seasons*, and had just come to "the sublime hymn which crowns that delightful work," when a band of armed ruffians rushed into the room with their matches alight, apparently with the intention of massacring the English captives if their shipmates returned the fire of the Arabs. Mr. Irwin nevertheless remained unmoved, his soul being elevated by the perusal of the aforesaid hymn.

"The *Adventure* was brought within the harbour, and all the guns and muskets were landed and locked up. The Englishmen were then allowed to return on board, and it is satisfactory to know that they were able to procure delicious fish and abundance of fruit and vegetables at low rates. They were also permitted to walk through the town attended by a guard to protect them from ill-treatment by the howling and yelling mob that followed at their heels.

"After undergoing much insult and annoyance, the English passengers were at length provided with an open boat professedly to take them to Suez, for which they were charged the monstrous sum of 650 dollars paid in advance, besides having to lay in their own stores of food and water. Captain Bacon is acknowledged to have acted in 'a very genteel manner' in putting numberless creature-comforts in the boat; and it is added that the commanders of country ships considered themselves sufficiently re-paid for 'entertaining' their passengers by the pleasure received from the company of the latter.

"It was not until the 10th June that they got out of Yambo harbour in the miserable boat to which they gave the appropriate name of the *Imposition*. For some days, however, they made scarcely any progress, closely hugging the shore and mooring themselves to a reef as either sun or fair wind went down.

"The snow *Adventure* found her way back to Jeddah but not without submitting to grievous exaction. In the meantime the *Imposition* slowly moved in a northerly direction until she was well up the Gulf of Akaba, when her head was put about, and she made right across to the western coast of the Red Sea. It was then discovered that the Vizier knew perfectly well that this boat was only bound to Cosseir, and that the run up the Gulf of Akaba was intended to make the Englishmen believe that they were going up the Gulf of Suez. The Arab boatmen never imagined that they would notice the difference of the sun's position when the northerly course was changed for one to the west, and then to the south. Even when the anchor was dropped on the 9th July at Cosseir, they were assured that they had arrived at Suez.

"For a month they had been exposed to the fierce heat of the sun by day and to heavy dews by night; whereas in the ordinary course they would have reached that wretched hamlet in a few days at the charge of a few dollars. Here they were

detained on various pretexts until the 28th, fleeced and cheated on all sides."

The scheme for cutting a canal through the Isthmus of Suez seems to have been entertained by the French, so far back as the year 1798, for we find the following extract taken from an English paper, in a *Calcutta Gazette* of the 13th September, 1798:—"The gigantic plan of aggrandisement which the French have formed in the Eastern part of Europe and Asia, begins to develope itself. Their project is clearly to get possession of the Greek islands, which may serve them as a nursery for seamen at least for the navigation of the Mediterranean and the Levant, to receive permission to attempt again the ancient plan of opening a canal into the Red Sea, from which they are not to be deterred by the failure of every former enterprize of the kind. The improved state of engineering gives them hopes that they will conquer every obstacle that nature has opposed to this design, and the grandeur of the object will be flattering to the character of the people. If they succeed they will open to themselves a navigation to the East, by a course so much shorter than the present, and will have such a demand for sugar in Egypt, and on the coasts of all the seas of which they will have the monopoly, that their commerce must receive an enormous addition."

The following singular voyage is reported as having been made by the Company's cruiser *Panther*, Captain Speak. The vessel sailed from Bombay on the 9th March of the previous year, 1797, with a packet for the Honorable Company, to Suez. Her long absence made every one suppose that the vessel had been lost. The *Panther* reached Mocha on the 30th March, and Suez on the 5th May. At Suez the despatch of the packet was delayed till the 19th May, and she reached Cairo on the 24th. Captain Speak continued at Suez until the 3rd September, when no return packet from England having

arrived, he left for Mocha, which he reached on the 16th, and on the 21st worked through the Straits of Babelmandeb. The season was now so far advanced that he found great obstruction in making any progress to the eastward, insomuch that after navigating ten days upon the coast of Arabia, he was compelled to return to Mocha, where he arrived on the 10th November. Here he remained for three months; when encouraged by the wind coming round to the north-west, he once more weighed anchor on the 6th February for India, and arrived at Bombay on the 6th of April; having been more than *thirteen months* doing what is now done in *thirteen* days!

The Government had had in contemplation a project of a more frequent and regular communication with Europe through Bussorah, which was on the 1st of January of the year 1798 carried into effect. A certain number of packet boats were placed on this service, one to leave Bombay every month, and for the accommodation of individual correspondence, private letters of certain dimensions and under the following restrictions, were admitted into the packet upon the payment of postage which would be considered extravagant in our day:—(1) "No letter shall exceed in length four inches, in breadth two inches, nor be sealed with wax. (2) All letters shall be sent to the secretary of Government, with a note specifying the writer, and with the writer's name signed under the address, to be countersigned by the secretary previous to deposit in the packet, as a warrant of permission. (3) Postage shall be paid on delivery of the letter, at the rate of ten rupees a single letter, weighing one quarter of a rupee; for letters weighing half a rupee, fifteen rupees; and for those weighing one rupee, twenty rupees." Two mails were transmitted by each despatch, one of which was sent *via* Aleppo, the other *via* Bagdad.

"Five and thirty years ago," says Mrs. Fay, writing in 1815, "it was the fate of the author to undertake a journey

overland to India, in company with her husband, the late Anthony Fay, Esq., who having been called to the bar by the honorable society of Lincoln's Inn, had formed the resolution of practising in the courts of Calcutta." They travelled through France, and over the Alps to Italy, whence embarking at Leghorn they sailed to Alexandria in Egypt. Having visited some of the curiosities in this interesting country, and made a short stay at Grand Cairo, they pursued their journey across the desert, to Suez, after passing down the Red Sea. The ship in which they sailed touched at Calicut, where they were seized by the officers of Hyder Ali, and for fifteen weeks endured all the hardships and privations of a rigorous imprisonment. Thence they effected their escape and were fortunate to reach Madras. This was in the year 1779-80. From Madras the Fays went to Calcutta.

Mrs. Fay, who published an account of her travels overland from England to India, died at Calcutta in 1817, at an advanced age. She had been superintending the printing of the first portion of her literary labors just before her death. She had not then exhausted her journal, but her death interrupted the further publication.

In the year 1817, the British rule in Hindostan was very slightly established. The Peishwah still held court at Poonah, and the Pindaries ranged and robbed round Hyderabad. Therefore when Lieutenant-Colonel Fitzclarence (afterwards Lieutenant-General Lord Frederick) was ordered by the Governor to convey despatches home, the task was not only a difficult but also a dangerous one.

The disturbed state of the country offered him little choice of routes, if he went by Hyderabad and Goa to Bombay, where one of the H. E. I. C. ships was waiting to convey him up the Red Sea to Suez, there was the chance of being either maimed or murdered by those unscrupulous marauders, the Pindaries; and should he take the other way, by Nagpoor, through the

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dominions of the Nizam and the Peishwah, to Poonah, and thence to Bombay, there was a chance of passing the remainder of his days in a dungeon, if he fell into the hands of any of the sirdars of their respective Highnesses. The latter route was, however, at last selected by Colonel Fitzclarence, and on the 17th December, 1817, he left the British camp with the despatches.

The Rajah of Nagpoor having broken faith with our Government, it was determined to give him a lesson, and a division of our army, under General Hardyman, was ordered to move on the Rajah's capital. To this force Colonel Fitzclarence attached himself, and therefore had the opportunity of being present at the battle of Jubbulpore. This and the capture of Holkar, and the surrender of the Rajah Appa Sahib to the Resident, facilitated Colonel Fitzclarence's advance, and in less than a month after he had quitted the camp he found himself in Nagpoor.

To give an idea of the difficulties which were likely to beset Colonel Fitzclarence on his journey, it will be only necessary to give an account of the order his escort kept on the line of march. An advance of twenty irregular cavalry preceded his elephant, and a detachment of fifty regular cavalry immediately followed it. In the rear marched one hundred and fifty irregular horse and a company of infantry, the whole being brought up by thirty additional horse and twenty veteran sepoys, while flank patrols of the Nizam's cavalry protected the column on the right and left.

"Feeling his way slowly through the country, the next place of note where we find our traveller and his party is Aurungabad.

"Colonel Fitzclarence next visited the fortress of Dowlutabad, which was considered to be the strongest fortress in India. Built upon a rock 500 feet high, the sides of which

one-third of the way up are scarped like a wall; below it is surrounded by four lines of walls, and a ditch seventeen yards wide.

"Having at last safely reached Poonah, the party there halted for a few days previous to marching to Bombay. Mr. Elphinstone was our resident there at that time.

"The road from Poonah to Bombay being a perfectly safe one the perils and dangers now were all passed, and Colonel Fitzclarence and his party enjoyed the beautiful country through which they journeyed, visited the Karlee Caves, and enjoyed a day's sport on the top of the Ghauts at Kandalla. Descended the Bhore Ghaut—no easy feat in those days—without an accident, and reached Bombay all safe and well.

"From Bombay, after tedious passages, they reached Cosseir where they landed. On applying to the Effendi for an escort, the colonel was promptly supplied with two Turkish soldiers, an Arab and a negro, and an interpreter named Mahumed, for whose fidelity the unfortunate Effendi of Cosseir was guarantee, he having been made to thoroughly understand that should the interpreter desert from the party, the Pacha would cut off his, the Effendi's, head.

On his arrival at Khenna, Colonel Fitzclarence visited the temple at Dendara. Having learnt that Mr. Salt, the celebrated traveller, had just left Thebes and was going to remain at Sciout, he followed him down the Nile in the hopes of overtaking him, but in this expectation the colonel was disappointed. His boat was slow and leaky, while the banks of the river abounded with "crawling crocodiles, scorpions and insolent Turks," and to add to all these discomforts, provisions were scarce.

On reaching Cairo, Colonel Fitzclarence at last encountered Mr. Salt, with whom was the renowned Signor Belzoni, who but a few years before had performed as an acrobat in most

towns in England. The colonel now proceeded by the same route, the river, to Alexandria, where the plague was raging, the horrors of which he vividly describes. On his voyage up the Mediterranean he was accompanied by two Princes of Morocco, who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

On the 14th of June 1818, he landed at Falmouth, having performed his overland journey in six months and six days, the duplicates of the despatches he carried having arrived fourteen days before him.

It is hardly possible to think of a sailing vessel going round the Cape getting to England quicker than an express messenger going by the way of Egypt!

A meeting was held in Calcutta at the Town Hall, on the 5th November, 1823, to discuss the feasibility of establishing a communication with Great Britain, by means of steam navigation, *via* the Mediterranean, Isthmus of Suez, and the Red Sea. Lieutenant Johnston of the Royal Navy proposed a scheme for running two vessels on the Mediterranean and two on the Red Sea. The meeting decided to encourage the scheme by offering a premium or bonus, to those who should first establish such communication on a permanent footing. Subscriptions were set on foot to obtain a sufficient sum for such a bonus, and Rs. 30,000 were at one subscribed before the meeting broke up.

It was resolved at the meeting to offer a premium or bonus of £10,000 to the first company or society that should bring out a steam vessel and establish the communication between India and Great Britain, leaving the route open to their choice.

Up to 1825 no attempt whatever had been made to perform a voyage to India by steam, still less to perform it within a specified and shorter time than had ever been heard of before; in fact, no attempt had been made to steam half the distance, still less to go round the "Cape of Storms," nor to the West

Indies, nor to America nor the Mediterranean, nor even to cross the Bay of Biscay, before the experiment of the *Enterprize* (in 1826) to reach Calcutta in seventy days, a period commonly allowed for a voyage to the Cape, about half the distance. The *Enterprize* had been built and fitted for sea, with a view to the prize of Rs. 10,000 offered by the society in Calcutta to the first steamer which should perform the voyage to that presidency within seventy days.

The *Enterprize* was a vessel of 500 tons measurement, fitted with two engines of 60 horse-power each, and three masts, with a very large lug sail on the mainmast. Captain Johnson, who commanded her, was a lieutenant in the Navy, a man of talent, pleasant manners, and of an amiable disposition.

On going down channel it was discovered that the engines were not of sufficient power for the size of the vessel, and hence, in order to make tolerable headway against wind and tide, it was necessary to keep up what is commonly called high pressure. This almost caused the destruction of the vessel, for when off Dungenness, it was found that the coals which, from the want of sufficient stowage accommodation, had been packed around and on the top of the boiler, on becoming heated had ignited, and it was with great difficulty that the flames could be extinguished.

In crossing the Bay of Biscay the steamer met with a gale of wind and a heavy sea, when she behaved well, though her engines were lamentably deficient in power. Whilst advancing to the southward an unfortunate mistake was committed in approaching so near the African coast as to lose the benefit of the north-east trade wind, which would have enabled her to sail within a few degrees of the Line, instead of steaming, as she did all the distance through a calm; and thereby creating such an excessive expenditure of fuel, as obliged her captain to put into the Island of St. Thomas, on the Line, for a fresh supply. Here a quantity of wood for fuel was taken on board, as no

coal could be procured. The consumption of wood was so much greater than that of coal would have been, that it was soon apparent that the vessel would again run short of fuel, she was therefore sailed till within sight of Table Bay, when she steamed into the harbour to the astonishment of every one at Cape Town. In consequence of these unforeseen difficulties the length of the voyage, instead of thirty, had been fifty-four days.

If we contrast this performance with the voyages now advertised in "Bradshaw," at the single port of Southampton alone, we shall find that, wonderful as Captain Johnston's voyage was in 1826, the growth of steam power upon the ocean is far more surprising.

Three centuries back, the intercourse between Europe and the rich countries in the East was carried on overland. When the art of navigation improved, and the Portuguese doubled the Stormy Cape, the old route to India became obsolete, and its valuable products were conveyed to the western world by a journey of some thousand leagues across the pathless deep. A further improvement in the means of communication between remote countries began gradually to supersede the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and to reopen the antiquated channel of intercourse between the eastern and western world. The scheme of establishing a communication by means of steam vessels through the Mediterranean, and a land journey through Egypt, was realized by two enterprizing individuals, entirely unconnected with each other—Mr. T. F. Waghorn, of the East India Company's pilot service, and Mr. J. W. Taylor, the agent, we believe, of some speculating capitalists in England, and brother of the resident at Bagdad.

About the autumn of 1826, Mr. Thomas Waghorn agitated for a direct communication between England and India by means of swift-going steam vessels to carry the mails. The vessels, he proposed, were "to be built after the model of the

Leith smacks, of 200 or 220 tons, and to be provided with two 25 horse-power engines; their masts to be so constructed as to lower down on deck in case of head winds, and the funnel also to be lowered at pleasure." They were to carry no passengers nor live stock, all available space being occupied by coal, which it was expected they would be able to carry sufficient for fifty days' consumption. It was anticipated that "seventy days from the vessel leaving the Thames, she would be seen in the Hooghly." Waghorn died before he saw all his visions carried out, but he was the true pioneer of the attempts which were shortly afterwards made by himself and others in hastening the conveyance of the mails, through Egypt, and thus establishing what is now called the overland route.

In 1827 the now celebrated Captain Waghorn turned his attention towards India, *via* Suez, and in the same year a steamer was built in Bombay and named the *Hugh Lindsay* which made the first passage from Bombay to Suez in 1830.

A general meeting of the subscribers to the fund for the encouragement of steam navigation between Great Britain and India was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 17th January, 1827. Captain Johnston of the *Enterprize* was thanked for the prominent, zealous and active part which he had taken in the establishment of steam communication with England, and a sum of 20,000 rupees was voted him as a remuneration.

Mr. Waghorn left London on the 28th October, 1829, crossed from Dover to Boulogne, and reached Trieste, *via* Paris and Milan, on the 8th November, a distance of 1,242 miles performed by land (except in crossing the Channel), in eleven days. He was upwards of sixteen days in going by sea, in a sailing vessel, from Trieste to Alexandria, a distance of 1,265 miles; and he reached Suez, distant 255 miles from Alexandria, in 14½ days, arriving there on the 8th December. He waited a day at Suez, in expectation of the steamer *Enterprize*, which he understood had sailed from Bombay to that port; left on

the 9th, and on the 23rd got to Jeddah, 660 miles, in a native boat, where he was delayed eighteen days before he could get a conveyance to Bombay. Mr. Waghorn's experiment, therefore, ought to be judged of by his journey as far as Suez; and it will then appear that he accomplished 2,762 miles in 33¾ days, exclusive of stoppages, or 40½ days, stoppages included.

Mr. Taylor set off from London seven days before Mr. Waghorn, *viz.*, on the 21st October 1829, reached Calais the same day, and Marseilles on the 28th. He sailed for Malta the same day, and arrived at Alexandria on the 8th November, in eighteen days from London, earlier by seven days than Mr. Waghorn. He departed from Alexandria on the 28th November, and reached Suez in nine days, that is five days quicker than Mr. Waghorn performed the journey; the whole time he consumed in actually travelling from London to Suez was only twenty-seven days. He quitted Suez on the 9th December, and arrived at Bombay on the 22nd March, performing the journey from London to Bombay (exclusive of stoppages) in forty-six days. This gentleman calculated that the passage from London to the Malabar coast might be accomplished in thirty-eight days, or the complete transit to India in about six weeks, provided steam vessels were stationed in the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, a facility which it was the object of Mr. Taylor and the persons with whom he was connected to secure, by a regular establishment of such vessels, to navigate both seas.

In the year 1830 sailing packets were discontinued as mail packets to the Mediterranean, when the *Meteor* government steamer left Falmouth for the first time on the 5th of Febuary with the mails for that sea, and returned to Falmouth after a voyage of forty-seven days, being only one quarter of the time usually occupied by sailing packets on the same route. Notwithstanding this important step on the road to India, it still required a period of five years to arrange and smooth down all

the difficulties that stood in the way of a rapid transit to the East by way of Suez; but in February 1835, the route was opened, the *Hugh Lindsay* coming from Bombay to Suez down the Red Sea to meet the mails and passengers from England, *via* Alexandria.

It had for som time been a favorite object of Sir John Malcolm, the Governor of Bombay, to establish a steam conveyance for despatches between that port and England. A vessel called the *Hugh Lindsay*, of 400 tons burthen, with two engines of 800 horse power each, was accordingly built for this purpose, at an expense of £40,000. Though constructed upon such a costly scale, yet the unaccountable blunder was committed, of her not having capacity to carry more than six days' coal; when it was impossible she could reach the Arabian coast from India in less than eight or ten days. If everything, however, had been properly managed the mails might have reached Alexandria in twenty-three days; thence to Malta would have occupied four days more; thence to Marseilles four days; thence to England five days; total from Bombay to London only thirty-six days! As it was, the *Hugh Lindsay* commanded by Captain Wilson, reached Suez after a voyage of thirty-three days, having lost twelve days in the ports of Aden, Mocha, Jeddah and Cosseir, being detained in getting supplies of coal on board at those places. The letters sent by this vessel, after all, reached England in less time than any which had ever been received before from India. Colonel Campbell was the only passenger by the vessel. One additional cause for her slow rate of travelling was that she was so deep in the water that her wheels could hardly revolve. She was the first steam vessel that had ever navigated the Red Sea.

Lieutenant Low gives an account of this trip to Suez from Bombay:—"On the 20th of March 1830, the Hon. Company's steamer *Hugh Lindsay* sailed from Bombay on her great experimental voyage, commanded by Commander John Wilson.

The gallant officer performed the trip with signal success, and when the disadvantages under which he laboured are taken into consideration, the achievement may be regarded as one of the most remarkable on record. This will be readily conceded when we consider the conditions of the experiment. The *Hugh Lindsay* was a steamer of only 411 tons, with two eighty-horse power engines, built to carry five and a-half days' consumption of coal, and drawing eleven and a-half feet of water, while she was required to perform a voyage of 3,000 miles, of which 1,641 were across the Indian Ocean to the first coaling station at Aden. To enable her to effect this long flight, she took on board sufficient coal for eleven days, for which purpose more than two-thirds of the space abaft, intended for accommodation, and also half of the forehold, were filled with coals; this, together with stores and provisions for the voyage to Suez and back, no less a distance than 6,00 miles increased her draught of water to thirteen and a-half feet; and it is certain her safety would have been seriously imperilled had she encountered bad weather. Previous to undertaking the voyage, a collier brig, laden with 600 tons of coal, under convoy of the *Thetis*, had been despatched to the Red Sea, so that a supply was ready stored at Aden, Jeddah and Suez. The experiment was a triumphant success; Aden was reached on the 31st of March, the whole distance having been covered *under steam alone*, and the *Hugh Lindsay* arrived with only six hours' consumption of coal in her bunkers. Commander Wilson called at Mocha to deliver despatches and at Jeddah for coal, and arrived at Suez on the 22nd of April, having been thirty-two days and sixteen hours, including stoppages."

The great advance made in steam navigation has dwarfed this feat; but still Wilson, who had sacrificed the command of a sloop-of-war to fit out the *Hugh Lindsay*, deserved all the praise bestowed upon him.

But what was travelling "overland" even in 1842? Von Orlich gives us a long description of the discomforts of the passage, particularly the crossing from Alexandria to Suez. There was no canal then. The passenger was landed at Alexandria on the 16th July, he then embarked in a boat on the Mahmoudi Canal, the work of Mehemet Ali about 84 miles long, fifty paces broad and about six feet deep. The boat was drawn by four horses. In this conveyance he reached Atfeh, where a small steamer, the *Lotus*, of 32-horse power, was ready on the Nile to receive him, and which conveyed him to Cairo, a voyage of 120 miles. Thence there was the journey through the desert. A two-wheeled cart, covered with a linen awning, and drawn by four horses, was the mode of transit, a not very pleasant one with the thermometer at 93° and only a linen awning over-head. The distance thus travelled was over sixty miles. At length Suez is reached, and a large boat conveys the fatigued passenger to the war steamer *Berenice*, the sun beating on his head at 96° Fahr. The journey having occupied till the 21st, or about six days! what is now accomplished by rail in a few hours.

CHAPTER XXI.

EDUCATION.

EDUCATION IN ITS INFANCY.

Let us turn to a spot, now much changed from its pristine desolate appearance, and long known by the name of Cooly Bazar. The pretty church, and the little white mansions, which now adorn the spot, were not then (in the latter part of the last century) to be seen. Small bungalows, like so many mounds of straw, broke the level prospect of the situation, and were the habitations of invalid soldiers, who had fought at Seringapatam, or helped to drive the enemy from the plains of Plassey. Living upon a rupee a day, these old pensioners smoked and walked, and smoked and slept their time away. One more learned, perchance, than the rest opend a school and while the modest widow taught but the elements of knowledge in the barracks of Fort William, the more ambitious pensioner proposed to take them higher up the hill of learning. "Let us contemplate him seated in an old fashioned chair with his legs" (we are quoting the words of a writer in the *Calcutta Review*) "resting on a cane morah. A long pipe, his most constant companion, projects from his mouth. A pair of loose pyjamahs and a *charkanah* banian keep him within the pale of society, and preserve him *cool* in the trying hot season of this climate. A rattan—his sceptre—is in his hand; and the boys are seated on stools, or little morahs, before his pedagogue majesty. They have already read *three* chapters of the Bible, and have got over the proper names without much spelling; they have written their copies—small, round, text and large hands; they have repeated a column of Entick's Dictionary with only two

mistakes; and are now employed in working Compound Division, and soon expect to arrive at the Rule of Three. Some of the lads' eyes are red with weeping, and others expect to have a taste of the *ferula*. The patner of the pensioner's days is seated on a low Dinapore matronly chair, picking vegetables, and preparing the ingredients for the coming dinner. It strikes 12 o'clock; and the schoolmaster shakes himself. Presently the boys bestir themselves; and for the day the school is broken up." Such were the schools which soon after the establishment of British supremacy in the East, were formed for the instruction of youth of both sexes. They were looked upon simply as sources of revenue, and hence every individual in straitened circumstances—the broken-down soldier, the bankrupt merchant and the ruined spendthrift —set up a day school, which might serve as a kind of *corps de reserve*, until something better turned up. As British supremacy began to extend, and the increasing demands of war and commerce caused an influx of Europeans into this land, greater efforts and on a larger scale, were made to extend the benefits of education and to elevate its tone.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

In consequence of the increased demand for education, many enterprizing individuals began to feel that schools would make capital speculations. Mr. Archer was the first to establish a school for boys before the year 1800. His great success attracted others to the same field; and two institutions speedily took the lead—Mr. Farrell's Seminary, and the Durrumtollah Academy, conducted by Mr. Drummond. There was also a school conducted by Mr. Halifax, another by Mr. Lindstedt and a third by Mr. Draper. Annual examinations were first held by Mr. Drummond, and the first examination of this kind gave the death-blow to the rival seminary of Mr. Farrell's. Besides the institutions which we have already mentioned there was one by the Rev. Dr. Yates for boys, and another by Mrs. Lawson for

girls. The earliest school for young ladies was that of Mrs. Pitts; and soon after many others were established, among which Mrs. Durrell's seminary enjoyed the most extensive support.

In April 1792, Mrs. Copeland started a young ladies' school in "the house nearly opposite to Mr. Nicholas Charles' Europe Shop, where she proposes boarding and educating young ladies in reading, writing and needle-work."

We learn from an advertisement of Mr. George Furly, on the 23rd May, 1793, who was about to establish an "academy "on the Burying Ground Road," what the rates for education were at that time:—First class 30 Rs. per month for board, lodging and education. Second class 40 Rs. Third class 64 Rs.

"ACADEMY.—The Reverend Mr. Holmes proposes opening an academy in Calcutta, for the instruction of youth, in the different branches of useful education. No. 74, Cossytullah Street. 16th December, 1795."

"W. GAYNARD, Accountant, begs leave to inform the Public, that he intends to open an ACADEMY, at his house, No. 11, Meredith's Buildings, for a few young gentlemen of the age of fourteen or upwards, (who may be intended for the mercantile line of life)—to instruct them in a perfect knowledge of Decimal Calculations, also to complete their education in the Italian method of Book-keeping, by a process, using the weights, measures and coins of the different markets of India. For particulars enquire of W. Gaynard, at his house aforesaid. Accounts and estates of co-partnership adjusted and settled as usual." (1795).

On the 1st May, 1800, a school was opened at the Mission House, Serampore; terms for boarders, 30 Rupees per month, with tuition in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Persian or Sungscrit Rs. 35. "Particular attention will be paid to the correct

pronunciation of the English language. A Persian and Sungscrit Munshi will be employed. Letters addressed to Mr. Carey, will be immediately attended to." This is the first intimation we have in the Calcutta papers of the location of the Baptist Missionaries at the Danish settlement of Serampore.

Here is the first instance that we have found of the establishment of a school, for the instruction of European children, in the upper provinces. Mrs. Middleton advertises on the 21st March, 1799, "having taken a house in an airy, healthy and agreeable situation at Dinapore," where she purposed "keeping a school for the tuition of such young gentlemen and ladies as parents and guardians may think proper to commit to her charge." Her charges were two gold mohurs per month for boarders, and eight rupees for day scholars.

[Advt.] "John Stansberrow begs leave to inform the Public in general, that he proposes keeping a school for the purpose of educating children, male and female, upon the most reasonable terms. He will instruct them in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The girls will be taught needle-work and lacemaking. The terms are as follows:—

For boys, per month ...	...	...	Rs. 25
For girls, ditto ...	...	...	,, 30
For day scholars ...	...	...	,, 16

"He lives in a commodious garden at Mirzapoor, near Colonel Hampton's gardens. As he means to pay the greatest attention and pains to their education and good morals, he will only take 12 boys and 12 girls, and flatters himself that he will give satisfaction to the parents and guardians of such children as he may be favored with the charge of."

Mr. Thornhill advertises (in 1802) that "encouraged by the liberal and increasing patronage of the public" to his academy, he had taken the house and garden in Durrumtollah

Street lately occupied by H. T. Travers, Esq., which from its size and situation is particularly well suited for the purpose of an academy." We believe this was the same building as that in which Mr. Drummond so long had his school, and the compound of which is now a bazar.

Mr. L. Schnabel advertises (1802) that he "will give instructions on the pianoforte, at the *moderate* rate of fifty rupees per month."

Charles Lewis Vogel set up, in 1803, a school at Chinsurah, for the education of children of both sexes, the girls being under the care of Mrs. Vogel. The terms were very moderate for those times. For general education Sa. Rs. 25; with clothes, medicine, &c., Sa. Rs. 35; for instruction in Persian 8 Rs. extra, and dancing 10 Rs. extra per month.

We find in a notice of sale in 1809, a house in *Great* Durrumtollah Road, that it was situated opposite to "Mr. Statham's Academy." This gentleman afterwards removed his school to Howrah, where it was long the scholastic residence of many of those who afterwards rose high in the services and held important posts. Mr. Statham wrote a work called "Reminiscences of India."

Mr. Frederick Lindstedt, who had for some years previous been carrying on a seminary for boys in the Circular Road, received a partner of the name of Mr. Ord, in 1821, and the school was then carried on in their joint names. This school still* exists, though under different management, and the course of education is entirely changed.

NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

The British in Calcutta early felt the necessity of those institutions, which were flourishing in their native land, and which being the offspring of benevolence, serve in a great measure to alleviate distress and relieve poverty, to check

* That is, when this book was first published.

crime and improve society. Actuated by these views, Major-General Kilpatrick* in August 1782 circulated a proposal for the establishment of an Orphan Society, and in the March following the Society was formed, under the name of the Military Orphan Society, for the maintenance of the children of officers dying in indigent circumstances. The society had two schools, the Upper and the Lower Orphan Schools; the former contained the children of officers, the latter of soldiers. These schools were divided into two departments, for boys and girls respectively, and the education imparted was of a practical nature, designed to qualify the children for the situations they were likely to occupy in India.

The school was located first at Howrah, but about 1790, the premises at Kidderpore were taken. The front or ballroom of the spacious building, which was so long the girls' school, calls to mind the state of society in those days, when European ladies were afraid to come out to India. The school was a sort of harbour of refuge for bachelors in want of wives. Balls were given expressly for the purpose of securing matrimonial engagements for the pupils. Persons in want of wives frequently made their selection of an evening. Officers in the upper provinces sometimes travelled a distance of 500 miles to obtain a wife in this way.

From an account of the receipts and disbursements of the Upper and Lower Orphan Schools at Kidderpore, we learn that both the institutions, which had but just been housed in buildings of their own, were, in 1795, in a very flourishing condition. The income of the "Officers' Fund," together with the previous year's balance, was Rs. 4,02,873-1-5, and the disbursements Rs. 3,32,033-6-6, which included the half of the cost of the Orphan House and premises, and also furniture, amounting to Rs. 34,303. The "Soldiers' Fund" showed an income, with previous year's balance of Rs. 1,13,688-13-7, and an expenditure of Rs. 56,659-10-4.

* Should be Kirkpatrick.

Of the success, which attended the establishment of the Press attached to the Military Orphan Society, it is sufficient to state that on its transfer to the Government in 1863; after half a century of operations, it had contributed, under the head of "Press profits," above twelve lakhs of rupees to the income of the Society.

The upper school in 1846, and the lower somewhat later, were given up, and the few remaining children placed in other institutions.

The year 1821 saw the establishment of the European Female Orphan Asylum, an institution which reflects the highest honour on the community, by whom it was established, and on whose support it still depends. The destitute condition of the offspring of European soldiers, who if they fortunately escaped the dangers of infancy, were notwithstanding exposed to the corrupting influence of scenes of profligacy, attracted the kind and sympathizing notice of the Rev. Mr. Thomason, who appealed to the public, and his appeal was cordially responded to both by officers and soldiers, and the government bestowed a monthly donation of 200 rupees. A house and grounds in Circular Road were purchased for Rs. 37,000; and this Asylum has proved a blessing to the offspring of the European soldiery.

PUBLIC CLASS SCHOOLS.

About the year 1820 people began to be painfully convinced that private schools did not answer the great purpose of national education. New views were being entertained by individuals and a new system was required—men perceived the necessity of attending to the moral and religious education of children.

The Parental Academy, through the influence and exertions of Mr. John Miller* Ricketts, was established on the 1st March 1823. The Calcutta Grammar Schoool was established

* Should be John William.

in June of the same year, owing to a dispute among the original members of the Parental Academy committee, which led to a separation of efforts. On the establishment of these schools Mr. Drummond's Academy very sensibly declined; until it was merged in the Verulam Academy, conducted by Mr. Masters, which was in its turn given up, when Mr. M. was appointed to fill the office of the head master of La Martiniere. To the Parental Academy must be given the tribute of having raised the tone of Christian education in Calcutta, and directed attention to the importance of the study of the History of India, and of the vernaculars. This institution still continues its usefulness under the name of the Doveton College.

The Calcutta High School was founded on the 4th June, 1830; and under its first rector, the Rev. Mr. McQueen, it flourished. However it was eventually laid in its grave; and on its ruins Saint Paul's School was established in the year 1847.

On the 2nd April, 1821, the Armenian community established the Armenian Philanthropic Institution for the benefit of their youth. This school existed till 1849, when it gave place to a rival school, designated St. Sanduct's Seminary.*

On the 31st March, 1830, it was determined in the Supreme Court that the bequests of General Martine for the Lucknow Charity should be devoted to the erection at Lucknow of an institution to be named "La Martiniere," the ground for which had been purchased three years before.

The La Martiniere in Calcutta was founded on the 1st March, 1836, from the funds left by Major-General Claude Martine. It is both a charitable as well as a public boarding school.

About the year 1834 the Roman Catholic community established St. Xavier's College for the tuition of their youth.

* The Armenian College, formerly known as the Armenian Philanthropic Academy, is still in existence.

This college flourished till the departure of the Jesuits in 1847, when St. John's College was founded in its stead.

The Free School is on the site of a house which was occupied by Mr. Justice Le Maitre, one of the judges in Impey's time. This institution was engrafted on the Old Charity School, founded in 1742, and settled in "the garden house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795." The purchase and repair of the premises cost Rs. 56,800. The public subscriptions towards the formation of the charity, amounted to Rs. 26,082, of which Earl Cornwallis gave Rs. 2000. The Free School at this period (1792,) was located in "the second house to the southward of the Mission Church."

We find in a later part of the same year a scheme put forth for a Free School Lottery for the benefit of the institution. The number of children then in the school was :—on the foundation, males 54, females 23; male day scholars 53, female 11. Males put out as apprentices 38, females 11. Males educated and returned to their friends, including day scholars, 105, females 65.

CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

About the end of the year 1747, a charity fund was instituted for giving board and education to indigent Christian children. Besides subscriptions, it enjoyed an endowment, which grew out of the "restitution money received for pulling down the English church by the Moors at the capture of Calcutta in 1756." To this amount was subsequently added a legacy of Rs. 7000 bequeathed by Mr. Constantine; and this sum was still further increased by the public spirit of Mr. Bourchier and the liberality of the Government. Mr. B., afterwards Governor of Bombay, was once Master-Attendant at Calcutta; he was a merchant and most successful in his pursuits. At this period there was no particular house in which the mayor and aldermen of the city could meet for the transaction of business; to remedy this want, Mr. Bourchier built the Old

Court House, which was much enlarged by several additions in the year 1765. He gave the building to the Company, on condition that Government should pay 4000 Arcot rupees per annum to support a charity school and for other benevolent purposes. The Government consented to pay 800 rupees per mensem to these charitable purposes. And when the ruinous state of the building rendered its demolition necessary, the Government continued their monthly grant as hitherto.

In the lapse of time the old charity school became quite inadequate to the demand for education; and in consequence of the necessity for providing instruction for the offspring of the poor, the Free School Society was established on the 21st December, 1789, and its management placed in the hands of a Patron (the Governor-General), the Select Vestry and a few other governors. On the 14th April, 1800, the Charity School and Free School Society amalgamated, and the Free School institution was the result,—a school which may be considered as the parent of all educational and benevolent institutions in this land.

The Baptist Missionaries early observed that in Calcutta, the children of many persons bearing the Christian name, were totally debarred by poverty from obtaining any proper education whatever, and were in a state of ignorance, if possible, greater than that of their Hindoo and Musulman neighbours. A piece of ground was purchased and a school house erected in the Bow Bazar. This institution was called the "Benevolent Institution." Although the primary object of the institution was the instruction of destitute Christian children, it was soon found necessary to extend its advantages to every class; and the children of Europeans, Portuguese, Armenians, Mugs, Chinese, Hindoos, Musulmans, natives of Sumatra, Mozambique and Abyssinia were received. So great was the encouragement given to the institution, that a school for girls was added, and within two years after the commencement,

above three hundred boys and a hundred girls were admitted to the benefits of the school. The above Institution was founded in 1819.

FORT WILLIAM COLLEGE.

The scheme of the Calcutta College was conceived in wisdom, admirably calculated to awaken the energies of the young servants of the Company, who were to diffuse the blessings of British rule over the vast and populous provinces of Hindostan, and to imbue their minds with sound and extensive knowledge, as well in the languages of the people they were to govern, as in the laws they were called to administer. To the accomplished statesman and gifted scholar the Marquis Wellesley was India indebted for the establishment of that college. Under no administration of our Indian affairs was so much done for the encouragement of oriental learning among the servants of the state, or for its general diffusion by the publication of valuable works, as during the rule of that great man. An assemblage of the ablest professors and teachers in every branch of instruction that was to be imparted, gave life and energy to the system.

The College of Fort William was instituted on the 18th August, 1800, and the first officers of the institution were as follows:

Rev. David Brown, Provost.

Rev. Claudius Buchanan, A. B., Vice Provost.

Professorships.

Arabic Language and Mahomedan Law, Lieutenant John Baillie.

Persian Language and Literature. — Lieutenant-Colonel William Kirkpatrick, Francis Gladwin, and Neil Benj. Edmonstone, Esq.

Hindustanee Language ... John Gilchrist, Esq.

Regulations and Laws, &c. ... Geo. Hilaro Barlow, Esq.

Greek, Latin and English classics, Rev. Claudius Buchanan.

The names of Colebrooke, Gladwin, Harington, Gilchrist, Edmonstone, Bàillie, Lockett, Lumsden, Hunter, Buchanan, Carey and Barlow, all of whom in various branches of tuition, discharged the duties of professors, will vouch the excellence of the instruction imparted, and the advantages enjoyed by the students in that establishment, which, notwithstanding it has ceased to exist, yet continues its beneficial influence by the many standard works of eastern literature and education which issued formerly under its patronage from the press, and by the important services rendered by those who had been trained within its walls.

Lectures commenced to be delivered at the College of Fort William on the 24th November, 1800, in the Arabic, Persian and Hindostanee languages. The Public Library in connection with the college was also founded at the same time.

On the 6th February, 1802, the anniversary of the commencement of the first term of the College of Fort William, the distribution of prizes and honorary rewards, adjudged at the second examination of 1801, took place at the college. The Hon'ble the Acting Visitor, in the absence of the Most Noble the Patron and Founder of the College, then in a distant quarter of the British Empire in India, addressed the students on the occasion, and distributed the rewards. "The disputations" were the following:—(1) An academical institution in India is advantageous to the Natives and the British nation. (2) The Asiatics are capable of as high a degree of civilization as Europeans; and (3) The Hindostanee language is the most generally useful in India.

The Government on the 8th February, 1812, resolved that a reward of 5000 Rupees be given to such of the Company's Civil servants, as might after leaving the College of Fort William, attain a certain degree of proficiency in the Arabic and Sanscrit languages; this offer was, however, withdrawn in a letter from the Court of Directors, dated 22nd July, 1814, and

on the 36th May, 1815, in the stead of pecuniary rewards it was resolved to bestow a *Degree of Honor* on any of the civil servants, who should, after leaving the College of Fort William, attain high proficiency in either of those languages.

The college was abolished in 1828, and the Writers' Buildings no longer used for the residence of the young writers on their arrival in Calcutta, A saving of Rs. 1,70,000 per annum was thus effected. The young civilians were henceforth sent at once to their appointed stations, where moonshees were provided for instructing them in the native languages.

MISSION SCHOOLS.

The first school established by the clergy for the children of indigent Christians was that by the Rev. Mr. Kiernander, on the premises of the Old or Mission Church on the 1st December, 1758; here some children were wholly maintained, while others were only educated.

The first missionary school was founded in Dinagepore, by Dr. Carey, in 1794; the number of scholars in about three years was forty. A number of schools in that district and others adjacent, were subsequently founded and maintained for twenty or thirty years. By 1817, a hundred and fifteen schools were formed by the Baptist missionaries, of Serampore, the greater part of which were within thirty miles of Calcutta, and at which above ten thousand scholars were instructed.

Bishop's College was founded in 1820, by the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts at the instance of Bishop Middleton ; its object was to train native Christians for mission work.

Through the exertions of Bishop Middleton, the boy's school connected with St. James' Church was established in the year 1823, under the auspices of the Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and continues to this day*

* It was closed about a year ago.

under their direction. The girls' school was established in 1830, under the patronage of Lady Bentinck.

The Church Missionary school was established in 1829, for the education of indigent Hindoo children.

In the Government Gazette of 27th July, 1829, we see the prospectus of a proposed "College" in Calcutta, for the education of Christian youth, and in connection with the Church of England.

The year 1821 was remarkable for the exertions of the Ladies' Society for Native Female Education in Calcutta and its vicinity. Miss Cooke, better known as Mrs. Wilson, arrived in that year and commenced her devoted labors.

The Central School, of which the foundation was laid in May 1826, was the following year completed, and Mrs. Wilson, the pioneer of female education among the natives, took charge of it. She had before this collected about 600 scholars at the different schools in Calcutta.

In the year 1830, the General Assembly's Institution was established by Dr. Duff, for the education of natives; and in 1837, the building which adorns the east side of Cornwallis square was finished. The success of this institution has been unprecedented. It gave a tone to native education.

In the year 1843, the great separation took place in the Church of Scotland, and Dr. Duff and his colleagues left the premises of the General Assembly's Institution, and immediately established the Free Church Institution, in Neemtollah, which is conducted on the same principles, and has been attended with the same success as the General Assembly's Institution.

The Serampore College was founded in 1818. This institution was for the education of Asiatic Christian and other youth.

Of Mrs. Wilson's Native Orphan School in 1837, the Hon'ble Miss Eden thus writes:—"She has collected 160 of

these children; may of them lost their parents in the famine some years ago; many are deserted children. She showed me one little fat lump, about five years old, that was picked up at three months old, just as two dogs had begun to eat it; the mother was starving, and had expossed it on the river side. She brings the children up as Christians, and marries them to native converts when they are 15 years old."

GOVERNMENT COLLEGES.

By the Act of 53rd Geo. III, cap. 155, the East India Company was empowered to appropriate under certain conditions from the territorial revenue, the sum of a lakh of rupees annually "to the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction the promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India." It does not appear, however, that the Government was enabled to act with special reference to this permission until several years later; nevertheless the encouragement of learning, though not systematically pursued, had not been disregarded even long before the enactment above quoted was passed. Mr. Hastings founded the Madrissa, or Mahomedan College in Calcutta in the year 1780, and in 1794, at the recommendation of Mr. Duncan, a college was endowed at Benares for the cultivation of Hindoo literature. But in the year 1811, the decay of science and literature among the natives of India, became the subject of the peculiar consideration of the Government, and it was then resolved to found two new Hindoo colleges in the districts of Nuddeah and Tirhoot, for the expenses of which it was designed to allot the annual sum of 25,000 rupees. Various difficulties, however, having obstructed the execution of this intention, it was ultimately abandoned, and a different plan adopted. The Government came to the determination of forming a collegiate establishment at the Presidency.

A Hindoo College, under the designation of the Government Sanscrit College, was the outcome of this resolution. It was founded on a footing similar to that already established at Benares; a sum of 25,000 rupees (afterwards increased to 30,000) was to be annually granted for the suport of the institution, and the superintendence of it was to be vested in a committee to be named by the Government. A sum of about a lakh and twenty thousand rupees was allotted by Government for the cost of buildings and the purchase of ground. The spot chosen was in an extensive square then lately formed in a central part of the city, and the first stone of the edifice was laid on the 25th of February, 1821, with masonic honors.

The Madrissa or old Mahomedan College, for the study of the Arabic and Persian languages and of Mohamedan law, owes its origin to Mr. Hastings, who in the year 1780, provided a building at his own expense, and at whose recommendation the Government assigned lands of the estimated value of 29,000 rupees per annum for the support of the institution. The object of the founder to produce from this seminary well qualified officers for the courts of justice was never attained to the extent of his expectations.

The building occupied by the Madrissa having fallen out of repair, and being located in an unhealthy spot, it was resolved to construct a building in a more suitable situation. A sum of nearly a lakh and a-half was given for the erection of an edifice very similar in plan to that of the Sanscrit College, on a site in a quarter of the town called Colinga. The foundation stone of the new structure was laid on the 15th July 1824, with the usual ceremonies of Free Masonry.

In Calcutta Mr. Sherburn established a school, which claims for its children some distinguished men, among whom the late Babu Dwarkanath Tagore and the Hon'ble Rajah Romanath Tagore may be mentioned. It was then evident that the Hindus had commenced shaking off their *quasi* religious prejudice

against English education, and manifested an eagerness to receive its benefits, when communicated in accordance with those principles of reason, discretion and good faith, which the Government uniformly promulgated.

In the year 1815, soon after the renewal of the Company's charter, a few friends, among whom was Mr. Hare, met together in Rammohun Roy's house, and the conversation turned on the most fitting means for the destruction of superstition and the elevation of the native mind and character. Various proposals were made, but Mr. Hare went to work practically, and drew up a circular for the institution of the Hindoo College, or as it was at first called "The Mahavidyalya" or great seat of learning. He had the cordial and able assistance of Sir Edward Hyde East, then Chief Justice. Public meetings were held, and a committee was formed to carry out the idea. On the 20th January, 1817, the school was opened in a house in Chitpore Road, hired for the purpose. Between this and 1823, the school was moved from house to house, and its supporters began to fall off. Mr. Hare alone stood firm: but even he at last saw no other means of averting the dissolution of the scheme, than an appeal to Government to come forward to the rescue. It had already been resolved to establish a Sanscrit College in 1821, and when the question of a building for the new institution came to be entertained by the Government in 1823, happily for the Hindoo College, it was agreed to locate them both under the same roof.

The Hindoo College was established as before remarked in 1821. The object of the institution, as described in the printed rules published in 1822, was to "instruct the sons of the Hindoos in the European and Asiatic languages and sciences." Though it was proposed to teach English, Persian and Sanscrit and Bengali, yet the first place in importance was assigned to English. In truth the college was founded for the purpose of supplying the growing demand for English education. Sanscrit

was discontinued at an early period. The Persian class was abolished in 1841. The only languages which have since been taught are English and Bengali.

The education of the females of India also came under consideration. In 1849 Mr. Bethune, then President of the Council of Education, founded a school for the especial instruction of the female children of natives of wealth and rank. And by means of funds bequeathed by him at his death, which occurred in 1851, and institution was erected in Cornwallis square for the purpose. The Bethune Native Female School was opened on the 7th May, 1849.

Several other minor institutions have been started, as the Oriental Seminary, the Indian Free School, the Indian Academy, Seals' Free College, the Patriotic College, and others. They were the offspring of learned and philanthropic bodies of native gentlemen, and have done much good. Some of the above have passed away, but many still exist, and others have taken the place of those institutions which have gone.

In 1855, the Hindoo College was recognised and transformed into the Presidency College, in accordance with the spirit of the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, and the decided opinion of Lord Dalhousie, who deprecated its constitution as the unseemly association of a collegiate with a dame's school. Chairs for moral and mental philosophy, logic, natural history, astronomy, natural philosophy, and geology were established. A separate department for the study of jurisprudence and law was also organised, and has proved most popular. A department of civil engineering was also established on the abolition of the Civil Engineering College.

In 1857, the Calcutta University was established on the model of the University of London, and was incorporated by Act II of that year.

Education seems to have already made great progress among the natives in Calcutta, some of the richest of the Hindoo community having set up schools for the instruction of native youth in the English language. There were in February 1827, under the control of the School Society about 2000 pupils attending the different schools. The minds of the most respectable members of the native community seemed to have become fully alive to the importance of intellectual improvement, and individuals of distinguished rank, affluence and attainments, readily afforded their countenance to the scheme of education.

A school was built by Lord Auckland at Barrackpore in 1837 for native children.

SCHOOL SOCIETY.

The Calcutta School Society was instituted on the 1st September, 1818, for the purpose of "assisting and improving existing institutions, and preparing select pupils of distinguished talents by superior instruction before becoming teachers and instructors." It established two regular or, as they were termed, "normal" schools, rather to improve by serving as models than to supersede the existing institutions of the country. They were designed to educate children of parents unable to pay for their instruction. Both the Tuntuneah and the Champatollah schools were attended with remarkable success. The former was situated in Cornwallis Street, nearly opposite the temple of Kalee, and consisted of a Bengali and English department. The latter was held in the house afterwards occupied by Babu Bhoobun Mohun Mitter's school, and which was entirely an English school. The two schools were amalgamated at the end of 1834. The amalgamated school was known as David Hare's School.

EDUCATION IN THE UPPER PROVINCES.

Until of late years the progress of education in upper India, under the auspices of the several local governments, had

been languid and inconsiderable. It received its first great impulse, as a general system, from the hand of the late Mr. Thomason, who obtained permission to establish a government school in every tehsildaree within eight districts in Hindostan. The measure was attended with such signal success, that in 1853 the Government of India directed that the system of vernacular education should be extended to the whole of the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, and in Bombay and Madras.

The Futtehgurh Orphan Asylum owes its origin to the calamitous effects of the famine of 1837-38, when hundreds of poor children, bereft of parents and left destitute of support, were rescued from want and misery by the exertions of a generous and humane officer, and located in a separate dwelling, where they received all the nurture and attention which the most affectionate solicitude could suggest. In October 1838, a similar institution at Futtehpore—formed simultaneously with the one at Futtehgurh, was broken up. The orphans were then divided—some were sent to the Church missionaries at Benares, and forty-eight were made over to the Rev. Mr. Wilson, who brought them on to Futtehgurh, where the number was increased to 95. With a view to render the institution a self-supporting one, the missionaries, in 1839, introduced the manufacture of carpets, such as are made at Mirzapore, and it is extremely gratifying to learn that so great was the patronage which the industrious orphans met with, that their sources in this department of their industry were "not equal to the demand." To this they added the business of tent-making in 1844—"chiefly to secure employment and maintenance for the rising colony of married orphans." From 1844 to the close of 1846, tents to the comparatively enormous value of 60,672 Rs. were furnished to the Indian public by the asylum.

During the latter part of the year 1856, the subject of native female education began to be practically carried out in the Agra and Muttra districts, by the establishment of several

schools in those districts. And from the success which attended these efforts it was soon evident that among the more respectable of the Hindoos the objection to sending their female children to a school, presided over by a teacher of their own selection, was gradually removed.

In June 1856 fourteen schools were established in Agra, containing 207 girls. In August and September 32 more female schools were established in the Agra district. They contained 612 Hindoo and 15 Mussulman pupils, belonging to the most respectable classes of the native community. In September 53 more female schools were established in the Agra district. The attendance at these institutions was 988, of whom seven were Mussulman and the remainder Hindoos. In October of the same year three schools were established in zillah Muttra, containing 50 pupils, 19 of whom were of the Bramin and 28 of the Buniah caste. In the following month more schools were started; they contained 31 Hindoo pupils. During the last quarter of 1856 three female schools were established in the Mynpoorie district. The largest of these institutions contained 32 girls, all the daughters of respectable Mahomedans. The other two were attended by Hindoo girls only.

CHAPTER XXII.

SCIENTIFIC AND OTHER ASSOCIATIONS.

BETHUNE SOCIETY.

THE Bethune Society was established on the 11th December, 1851, to promote among the educated natives of Bengal a taste for literary and scientific pursuits, and to encourage a freer intellectual intercourse than can be accomplished by other means in the existing state of native society. The meetings of the society are held monthly during the cold season at the Theatre of the Medical College, at which discourses of literary, scientific, or social subjects are delivered.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded on the 15th January, 1784, by the illustrious lawyer, linguist and naturalist, Sir William Jones. The Governor-General, Warren Hastings, having declined the offer of the chair, the founder of the society was elected its president, an office which he continued to fill for upwards of ten years. The aims of the infant society were humble enough. Weekly evening meetings were held in the grand jury room for the perusal and discussion of papers on the history, antiquities, arts, science and literature of Asia, and a selection of these papers was from time to time published as the *Asiatic Researches*. These meetings were afterwards held monthly, and then once every three months.

Henry Thomas Colebrooke was elected president in 1806, and again the society exhibited symptoms of life and youthful vigor. The Court of Directors encouraged the society by a grant of Rs. 500 per mensem; and two years later subscriptions

were raised to the amount of Rs. 24,000, with which the society's present house was erected, the site having been granted by Government in 1805. It had previously been used as a manège. In 1814 the society determined on the formation of a museum "for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history, or to elucidate the peculiarities of nature or art in the East."

In 1829, Captain Herbert commenced the publication of a monthly periodical entitled *Gleanings in Science*, chiefly intended to contain extracts from European scientific literature, with such original papers as might be forthcoming. The project was thoroughly successful. James Prinsep succeeded Captain Herbert as editor, and on the 7th March, 1832, the name of the publication was changed to that of *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, and was edited by the secretary of the society. On Mr. Henry Prinsep's return to Europe in 1838, it was transferred to his successor, Mr. Henry Torrens, on whose resignation in 1843 it was adopted by the society as its own publication.

The museum had in the mean time attained such vast proportions that it was found necessary to appoint a paid curator in 1835, and a grant was obtained from Government of 200 rupees a month to its support.

In January 1841, the Government determined to found in Calcutta a "Museum of Economic Geology of India," by the aid of which it was expected important discoveries would be made relative to the mining and agricultural wealth of the country. The first specimens of coal and ores from England were placed in the society's rooms, and a curator was appointed to this department. The museum remained and grew in the society's custody for fifteen years. At length in July 1856, the Government resolved to remove it, and to establish an independent geological museum, theoretical as well as practical, in connection with the Geological Survey. At the same time the society was requested to transfer its own geological and

palcontological collections to the new museum. The society refused to give up their collections, and a long correspondence ensued which ended in the whole of the papers on the subject being transmitted to the Secretary of State. The result was that in 1862, the Government declared itself prepared to carry out the project of an Imperial Museum "for the collection and exhibition of specimens of natural history in all its branches, and of other objects of interest, physical, economical, and historical." The transfer of the society's collections then took place.

The society continues to work well and its labors are still as useful as ever, but it is beyond the scope of this work to notice them further. Indeed that we might complete a history of the society we have already gone beyond the time (1858) when the reign of John Company ceased.

AGRICULTURAL AND HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

The Agricultural and Horticultural Society was founded on the 14th September, 1820, by the eminent Baptist Missionary, Dr. Carey. Commencing by small degrees, it has gradually been extending its operations—and now numbers upwards of 500 members resident in various parts of the country, from the Punjab to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Its rooms in the Metcalfe Hall* contain a small museum abounding in specimens of woods, oils, dyeing and tanning substances, besides other rare productions of the country. There is also a library which, though not large, embraces many valuable works of a character most useful alike to the new comer and the older resident, who may be in pursuit of knowledge connected with the teeming riches of this vast empire. In the large hall or meeting-room, there are busts of Dr. Carey, the founder, of Dwarkanauth Tagore, and of Dr. Wallich, for many years the Superintendent of the Royal Botanic Garden, a vice-president, and most zealous member of the society.

* The Society's Office was removed to Alipore on the opening of the new Imperial Library.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Calcutta Medical and Physical Society was instituted in March 1823. Dr. James Hare was the first president and Dr. Adam, secretary. The society's *Journal* was published for many years under the editorship of Drs. Grant, Corbyn and others.

The Bombay Literary Society, was founded by Sir James Mackintosh in 1804.

The Literary Society of Madras owed its origin to the exertions of Sir John Newbolt and Mr. B. C. Babington.

There was a "Phrenological Society" in Calcutta in 1825. It was established in March of that year, and had for its president Dr. Clarke Abel, and Dr. J. Grant as vice. The object of this society was "to investigate phrenology by means of meetings at which phrenological discussions may take place, and communications be made, and by the collection of phrenological works, skulls, casts, &c., and every kind of phrenological document and illustration."

We have accounts of a Free Masons' Lodge in Calcutta as early as 1744. In 1789 they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company's Service in Calcutta. They seem to have had a local habitation and a name in the city from the days of Charnock.

On St. John's day, 1811, the members of the Masonic Lodges of Calcutta and Fort William, accompanied by a number of other brethren not attached to any lodge at the Presidency, assembled at Moore's Rooms, whence they moved in procession to St. John's Church, preceded by the band of H. M's 24th Regiment. On their arrival at the church an excellent sermon, suited to the occasion, was preached by the Rev. Mr. Ward. This is the first notice we have seen of such a procession. It shows that the Masonic fraternity were becoming a large and influential body in Calcutta and other parts of India.

There were three Lodges of Freemasons in Calcutta, which walked in procession on St. John's Day, in 1812, to St. John's Church—the "Star in the East," "True Friendship," and the "Marine Lodge." The text chosen by the Rev. Mr. Ward was —"For we have seen the Star in the East, and have come to worship him."

From the order of procession on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of St. Andrew, in 1815, we learn what masonic lodges then existed in Calcutta. They were (1) Lodge Courage with Humanity; (2) Aurora Lodge; (3) Oriental Star; (4) Moira Lodge; (5) Marine Lodge; (6) Humility with Fortitude; (7) True Friendship; (8) Industry and Perseverance; and (9) The Grand Lodge.

The above procession assembled at Moore's Rooms and thence walked to the site of the proposed new church of St. Andrew, near the Writer's Buildings, on the 30th November, 1815. The foundation stone of which church was laid by Mr. A. Leton.

The Masonic Lodges in Calcutta in 1819 were—(1) Courage with Humanity; (2) Aurora Lodge; (3) Moira Lodge; (4) Marine Lodge; (5) Humility with Fortitude; (6) True Friendship; (7) Industry and Perseverance; (8) Star in the East; and (9) Provincial Grand Lodge.

A proposal for the establishment of the Calcutta Bethel Union Society was made in September 1823. The object of the society was the benefit of seafaring men visiting the port of Calcutta. A pinnace was purchased and fitted up for divine service on Sabbaths.

The building of a Public "Exchange" was proposed in 1784 for the town of Calcutta by Mr. Watts, in the following advertisement:—"Merchants and gentlemen of Bengal, who may be inclined to encourage so useful a plan as the building a public edifice of Exchange, in the Town of Calcutta, are requested to honour Mr. Watts with their names and opinion.

A plan and elevation of the structure intended, may be seen at the Agency Office.

"*N. B.*—Mr. Watts professes Independence by Labour. He has no connection whatever with other persons or other plans (if any there be) of a similar kind; and as he has not been honoured with any communications, gentlemen cannot complain of infidelity. Subscriptions are optional. If the present should not fill, the building will still be erected. Its necessity in these times is evident, and the utility in a commercial town speaks for itself."

Another proposal was made in May 1817, by the merchants in Calcutta, to build a Public Exchange "such as other commercial cities are provided with, and which the progressive enlargement of the trade of this port seems to render daily more requisite." And an application was made to Government for permission to erect the building "upon the vacant spot of ground between the Honorable Company's present Bankshall and the river, as that situation would afford a combination of advantages not to be found elsewhere." Government readily acceded to the request.

In January 1814, was established at Madras "the Highland Society of Madras," a branch of the Highland Society at home. The objects of the society are thus stated—(1) The restoration of the Highland dress; (2) The preservation of the ancient music of the Highlands; (3) The promoting of the cultivation of the Celtic language; (4) The rescuing from oblivion the valuable remains of Celtic Literature; (5) The establishment of public institutions, as Gaelic schools, a Caledonian Asylum for the children of Highland soldiers, and a Gaelic chapel in London; (7) The keeping up the martial spirit, and rewarding the gallant achievements of Highland corps; (8) The promoting the agricultural improvement and the general welfare of the northern parts of the kingdom.

A correspondent of the Government Gazette of the 15th April, 1819, says—"Calcutta is likely to be more distinguished for its clubs than its masonic institutions. The *Tea* club is expected to suit the public taste to a Tea. Several supplementary regulations have been adopted, and among them the most judicious is, that 'The member who slops the table, or spilleth the hot beverage in his neighbour's lap, shall forfeit two annas.' Another club has started, under the mysterious denomination of *Obscure*, and as the *Lunatics* meet at the full of the moon, it is probable that the *Obscures* will meet at the *change*, contented to remain in a sort of eclipse."

CHAPTER XXIII.

BENEVOLENT AND RETIRING FUNDS.

LORD CLIVE'S FUND.

JAFFIER Ally Khan, Nawab of Moorshedabad, having at his death, bequeathed five lakhs of rupees to the first Lord Clive, his Lordship transferred the legacy to the East India Company for the purpose of establishing a fund for granting pensions to European commissioned and warrant officers and soldiers, superannuated or worn out in the service of the Company, and to their widows. The Court of Directors engaged to allow in perpetuity, interest on the above sum, at the rate of eight per cent., and to be trustees of the fund. The Nawab Syfoo-Dowlah subsequently presented a donation of three lakhs of rupees, which was received by the Court on the same terms, and an accumulation of interest due by it being added, the resources of the fund, at the period of its being regularly formed and brought into operation on the 6th April, 1770, were about ten lakhs of rupees. The rates of pension were—per annum for Colonel £228-2-6; Lieutenant Colonel £182-10-0; Major £136-17-6; Captain, Surgeon and Commissary £91-5-0; Lieutenant, Assistant Surgeon and Deputy Commissary £45-12-6; Ensign £36-10-0; Conductor of Ordnance £36-10-0. Their widows one half of the above, to continue during their widowhood. Sergeants of Artillery received a pension of ninepence a day, or one shilling if they had lost a limb; privates received sixpence, and ninepence if deprived of a limb. All other non-commissioned officers and privates received fourpence three farthings a day.

MARINE PENSION FUND.

So far back as the year 1783, previous to the new organization of the Pilot service, the Government was in the practice of granting pensions to disabled or superannuated members and to their widows and families, from a fund, arising from certain collections appropriated for its support, to which also the members of the Pilot service contributed a portion of their earnings. When the service was placed on fixed allowances, these contributions ceased, and the disbursements on the part of the Government in excess of the proceeds of the allotted funds, amounting to a considerable sum, which was annually increasing, the Government signified their resolution to grant no further pensions to the widows and families of members of the Pilot service. These latter were at the same time invited to contribute an adequate portion of their allowances, towards defraying the expense in question, under an arrangement for that purpose to the adopted by Government. The members of the Pilot service at once engaged to contribute to a liberal extent, and a new scheme of pensions was formed from these combined sources. The service contributed as follows:—Branch Pilot 40 rupees; a master 20 rupees; 1st mate 10 rupees, and 2nd mate or volunteer 4 rupees monthly. Their widows receiving 100, 50, 30 and 15 rupees a month respectively, and orphan boys 12 and girls 14 up to ten years and 20 rupees monthly up to 21 years of age or till married.

CHARITABLE FUND FOR THE RELIEF OF DISTRESSED EUROPEANS AND OTHERS.

At a meeting of the Select Vestry of St. John's, on the 26th June, 1800, it was resolved that a permanent fund should be formed for the relief of distressed Europeans and others, out of the collections made in the church, on the three festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsuntide. Relief began at once to be afforded, but in 1806 it was found that these collections by themselves were not sufficient to meet the demands for relief,

In that year the Government came to the help of the fund, in the form of a monthly donation of 800 rupees.

In connection with this fund are other funds for eleemosynary purposes, arising from legacies which the testators devised should be managed by the Select Vestry. These legacies are General Martine's, Mr. Weston's and Mr. John Barretto's. General Martine left 50,000 rupees, the interest of which was to be distributed among the poor of Calcutta. Mr. Charles Weston bequeathed the sum of one lakh of rupees, the interest of which was to be applied "to the assistance and relief of families and individuals laboring under the pressing miseries of poverty, hunger, disease, or other painful misfortunes and distresses, for ever." Mr. Barretto left 5,700 rupees for the benefit of the poor. These united charities, combined with the monthly donation of Government, the sacramental collections and the ample contributions made at the various churches in Calcutta at Christmas and Easter, the annual amount averaged about 15,000 rupees, which enabled the Vestry to afford relief to above 8000 persons.

CIVIL FUND.

This fund was established on the 1st October, 1804. The immediate objects of the fund are to provide for the maintenance of the widows and children of such of the subscribers to it as may not, at their demise, leave property sufficient for the subsistence and education of their families, and also to assist in maintaining any of the subscribers themselves, who may be compelled by sickness or infirmity to return to Europe, for the recovery of their health, without an adequate pecuniary provision for their support. The Court of Directors gave an annual donation of £2500 towards the funds of the institution. The contributions payable by members were ten rupees a month for every thousand rupees received as to salary, up to 4000 rupees; over that amount the contribution was 50 rupees a month. The pension to the window is 300 rupees a month if

she remain in India, or £300 per annum if she reside in Europe. Children receive from 30 to 50 rupees a month as they advance in age, for their maintenance and education, or from £ 30 to 80 per annum in Europe.

QUEEN'S MILITARY WIDOWS' FUND.

Towards the end of the year 1818, the outline of a plan was officially circulated by order of the Marquis Hastings, then Commander-in-Chief in India, to the officers of the King's regiments in this country for "the formation of a General Military Fund for the purpose of sending home in comfort and respectability the families of deceased officers in His Majesty's regiments serving in India, who may have been left destitute and of preventing the painful and degrading practice of appealing to the public for subscriptions on such occasions, and also of providing relief in such cases as may require it, until they can be conveniently sent home." The details of the plan having been arranged the fund was established in 1820, and its provisions came into immediate operation. In 1823, the Government added an annual donation of 6000 rupees to its funds. Every officer in the service has to contribute a small monthly sum towards the support of the fund. The widow of every officer is entitled to draw maintenance allowance previous to embarkation, passage money for herself and children, and travelling expenses for herself and children after her arrival, from any part of the United Kingdom to the place where she may wish to reside. After this relief, all further assistance from the fund ceases.

BENGAL MILITARY WIDOWS' FUND.

The Bengal Military Widows' Fund, which was established on the 5th August, 1805, published a statement of its position in March 1808, from which it would appear that the fund was already in a prosperous condition. The number of widows maintained by the fund were—in India fifteen with pensions

amounting in the total to Rs. 3492-10-8 per month; an in England eight widows with pensions of £1312 per annum.

At a meeting of the managers of the Bengal Military Widows' Fund, held on 14th February, 1811, it was resolved to augment the pensions of widows as follows:—

Lt.-Col's. widow	from Rs.	53	5	4	to Rs.	68	10	8	per month,
Major's do	"	42	10	8	"	55	0	0	"
Captain's do	"	32	0	0	"	41	5	4	"
Subaltern's do	"	21	5	4	"	27	8	0	"

The Bengal Mariners' Widows' Fund was established on the 25th August, 1819.

CHAPTER XXIV.

MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS.

PRESIDENCY GENERAL HOSPITAL.

THE premises now denominated the General Hospital, were in their original state occupied as a garden house by an individual, from whom they were purchased by the Government in the year 1768, and converted into an hospital. The hospital affords accommodation and medical treatment to Europeans belonging to Her Majesty's civil, military and naval services, and to seamen belonging to private and foreign ships, and also to European paupers. All Europeans of whatever class are admitted. To those who can afford to defray their own expenses, a charge of one rupee a day is made for attendance and accommodation.* The management of the hospital is in the hands of a surgeon and two assistant surgeons in the service; the latter residing on the premises.

NATIVE HOSPITAL.

The Native Hospital owes its origin to a suggestion of the Rev. John Owen, a chaplain. The want of a hospital or institution for the relief of persons suffering from accidents being severely felt by the native inhabitants of Calcutta in general, and more particularly by the labouring part of them, a plan for establishing such an institution as was calculated to afford the necessary relief was published, and met with the general encouragement of the settlement. A meeting was held at La Gallais' Tavern on the 27th September, 1792, when the amount of subscription was found to reach the sum of

* This rate has ofcourse been now altered, and the accommodation considerably increased.

Rs. 12,100; and the Government "had been pleased to signify their intention, that surgeons shall be appointed from among the Company's servants to do duty at the hospital, which it has been resolved to establish." In the following year the subscriptions amounted to 54,000 rupees. Of this Lord Cornwallis gave Rs. 3000, each member of council Rs. 4500, and the Nawab Vizier Rs. 3000. The Government supplemented the private subscriptions with a monthly contribution of 600 rupees, and medicines, &c., from the Company's Dispensary. The hospital was opened for the reception of patients on the 1st September, 1794, in a hired house. Premises in "the open and airy road of Durrumtollah" were afterwards purchased. At that time there were only three or four houses in that road.

On the 16th September, 1798, four years after its establishment, we have an account of the operations of the Native Hospital during the previous year:—The number of house patients was 209, out-patients 464; out of which number 523 had been relieved and discharged; 36 had died; and 57 remained under treatment.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A native hospital was established at Benares in July 1811. It was liberally supported by the heads of the native population, and soon gained great popularity. In the second year of its existence, it showed a balance to credit of over 8000 rupees, besides value of buildings and money invested in Company's paper to the amount of over Rs. 14,000.

A "Nautical Asylum for the relief of distressed members (subscribers to the institution,) their widows and children," was formed on the 13th January, 1798, and work commenced at "the house adjoining Messrs. Ord and Knox's, in Tank Square." W. F. Hair was the first secretary.

The Calcutta Lying-in Hospital, Park Street, Chowringhee, established under the auspices of the Right Hon'ble the Countess of Loudoun and Moira, was opened for reception of

patients on the 12th June, 1814. Applications for admission to be made to Messrs. Cheese or Luxmoore, Fort William.

The practice of vaccine inoculation was introduced into Bengal towards the end of the year 1802, by the instrumentality of Dr. Anderson, of Madras. A notification having been published in the several native languages respecting the advantages of the discovery, and the requisite preliminary enquiries and experiments been instituted, a Superintendent General of Vaccination at the Presidency and subordinate vaccinators at several of the principal cities in the interior, were appointed. Though a good example was set by some personages of the highest rank, both Hindoos and Mohamedans, at native courts, the progress of vaccination among the natives was very slow. An aversion to innovation, combined with a bigotted spirit of fatalism influenced the natives, and it was not till the Government made it compulsory that the people underwent the operation of inoculation.

The principal inhabitants of Calcutta and its dependencies, having some time previous resolved to present Dr. Edward Jenner, with a testimonial of their gratitude for the benefit which the settlement, in common with the rest of mankind, had derived from his inestimable discovery of a preventive of the small-pox transmitted to the doctor on the 17th May, 1806, bills drawn on the Court of Directors to the amount of £3000 sterling, and a promise of £1000 more as soon as the remainder of the subscriptions had been realized.

A case is reported, in the *Government Gazette* of the 19th December, 1816, of a person born blind having received sight by the means of a surgical operation, performed by Dr. Luxmoore, who removed a cataract which was the cause of the blindness.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE NATIVE ARMY.

THE name sepoy is derived, says Heber, from "sip," the bow and arrow, which were originally in almost universal use by the native soldiers of India in offensive warfare.

Our first native regiments were raised before 1756, in the Madras Presidency, at the time when England and France were contending there for supreme dominion. In those days the sepoys were few in number, and were used as a kind of reserve to the English forces in the field. By degrees, they proved themselves worthy of a more prominent place on the battle field, and were soon entrusted with post of danger in the front. It is a matter of history how they fought at Madura; how well they behaved in the defence of Arcot; how they crossed bayonets at Cuddalore with some of the best troops of France.

After the affair of the Black Hole at Calcutta, Clive determined to raise sepoy regiments for Bengal; and these showed at Plassey and on other battle fields that they were in no respect inferior to their Madras brethren.

For a period of forty years, from 1756 to 1796, the native army in India remained as it was when first raised. The English officers were but five in number; a great deal of the subsidiary authority being vested in the native officers. In 1796 a change for the better was inaugurated throughout the Company's troops. The British adventurer, or soldier of fortune, who had worked his way to India, no one knew how, and had taken service under the Company, because he could not otherwise go through the process of what was called shaking the pagoda tree, gradually left the Indian army, and was replaced by a different class of men, more or less educated

at home for their Indian career. Cadetships in the Company's service were looked upon as an excellent provision for younger sons. The pension system was introduced; officers rose in the service by seniority; the sepoy regiments were numbered. Each regiment consisted of two battalions; and something like an *esprit de corps* prevailed throughout the service.

"Great events from little causes spring." A droll affair occurred at Arcot during the celebration of the Mohurrum (1792). In those days silversmiths were not allowed to wear slippers. At the procession of a "Chitty," one man of the "Left Hand Caste" made his appearance in a pair of *yellow slippers.* Perhaps the color made the offence still more *striking.* A man of the "right hand caste" ordered him to take off the slippers, but this he indignantly refused to do, adding that if he did he would place them on his (the right hand man's) head. The insult was taken up by the whole country. The castes began to assemble their forces, several skirmishes with cudgels took place, and one carpenter's skull was fractured. They then began to collect matchlocks, pikes, &c., and a serious disturbance was the consequence, wherein several lives were lost and many received severe wounds which proved fatal in many cases,—all as the result of wearing a pair of slippers.

The Marquis Cornwallis issued an order, dated the 27th June, 1793, in the following words:—"No non-commissioned officer, sepoy or lascar, going upon leave of absence, is to be allowed to take his coal with him."

We have another on the same date, with reference to sepoys being used as peons by officers:—"Orderly sepoys or lascars are on no account to be made use of as peons or harcarrahs, by attending on an officer when he goes abroad, or being employed on any private business. They are allowed to officers commanding stations, detachments and corps, and to public officers for the purpose of conveying and circulating

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orders, and to be confined to that duty alone. When officers, whether staff or others, have occasion to go on public duty to the parades, or to places where they may require their orderlies, they may send them on or desire them to follow, so as to meet them at any appointed place: but they are not to let them run before their palanquins or horses, or at any time mix with their suaree servants."

The Governor of Madras, on the 26th May, 1800, issued the following singular order, in reference to the exemplary conduct of a faithful and distinguished native officer, who died a prisoner at Seringapatam:—"The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has deemed himself fortunate in discovering the near connexions of Commandant Syed Ibrahim, who have survived the long captivity and death of that faithful, honourable and distinguished officer. It will be in the recollection of the army that Syed Ibrahim commanded the Tanjore cavalry in the year 1781, was made prisoner during that year, was repeatedly invited by the late Tippoo Sultan to accept service in Mysore, under the most brilliant promises, and under repeated recommendation of his fellow prisoners, the British officers, until their release in 1784; that after the release of the British officers, Syed Ibrahim commandant was removed to the Fort of Cowly Droog, where he suffered the hardships of a rigorous confinement and unwholesome food, intended to have produced that acquiescence which the Sultan's invitations had failed to procure. His Lordship therefore experiences the most cordial gratification in pointing out to the native troops of this establishment, the memorable example of attachment and fortitude exhibited by Syed Ibrahim in resisting the earnest solicitations, in supporting the oppressive cruelty of the late Sultan, and in finally *laying down his life as a sacrifice to the duties of fidelity and honor.* In order to manifest his respect for the long services, the exemplary virtue, and the impregnable fidelity of Syed Ibrahim, the Governor in Council is pleased to order and

direct that the amount of *his pay* as commandant of cavalry, being fifty-two pagodas and twenty-one fanams per month, shall be conferred as a pension for life on his sister, who left her home in the Carnatic to share his misfortunes in captivity, and who was subsequently wounded in the storm of Seringapatam. In order also to perpetuate His Lordship's sense of Syed's truth and attachment to the Company's service, the Governor in Council has ordered a tomb to be erected to his memory in Cowly Droog, with an establishment of two lamps and a fakir, for the service of the tomb, according to the rites of his religion."

By an order by the Governor in Council, dated 18th August, 1809, Soobadar Saik Hossain, 1st Battalion 6th Regiment Native Infantry, is rewarded for his length of service and general good conduct, with the gift of a palanquin, and an allowance of twenty star pagodas per mensem "to maintain this equipage in adequate style."

His Majesty's birthday was celebrated in a very unusual manner by the 1st Battalion 2nd Native Infantry. While on their march on the Bombay coast, the commanding officer, resolving that, if the day could not be celebrated with the sumptuous banquet or the festive dance, it should at least be commemorated as circumstances permitted, pulled a bough from a tree, stuck it in his hat, told the battalion the reason, and invited the officers and men to do the same, halting for the purpose. In a moment it was done, and the column moved on like "Birnam wood to Dunsinane," the sepoys, of their own accord, testifying their loyalty by three hearty Bombay *dings* in lieu of British cheers.

By an order dated 19th March, 1827, the punishment of flogging in the native army was abolished, except for certain crimes. The order runs as follows:—"The Commander-in-Chief is satisfied from the quiet and orderly habits of the native soldiers, that it can very seldom be necessary to inflict

on them the punishment of flogging, while it may be almost entirely abolished with great advantage to their character and feelings. His Excellency is therefore pleased to direct, that no native soldier shall in future, be sentenced to corporal punishment, unless for the crime of stealing, marauding, or gross insubordination, where the individuals are deemed unworthy to continue in the ranks of the army."

A corps of Golundauze was formed on the 15th October, 1827. The battalion consisted of eight companies of the following strength:—1 colonel or lieutenant-colonel commandant, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 10 lieutenants, 5 second lieutenants; and each company had 1 subadar, 2 jemadars, 6 havildars, 6 naiques and 70 privates, being the establishment allowed for the corps of Golundauze at Madras. The battalion of Golundauze of six companies, which had been raised the previous year, formed the basis of the new corps. In Bengal there were two battalions of Golundauze and in Bombay and Madras one each.

A set of standing orders for the Native Infantry of Bengal was first printed, and copies supplied to every regiment from the Adjutant General's Office, by an order dated the 1st September, 1828.

The Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council directs that the following regulation, with reference to the substitution of the cat-of-nine-tails for the rattan, be published in general orders by Government, with reference to the provisions of art. 6, sec. xii, of the Articles of War for the native troops:—

A.D. 1828.—*Regulation VIII.* "A Regulation for abolishing the use of the rattan as an instrument of punishment, and for substituting in lieu the cat-of-nine-tails. Passed by the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, on the 29th April, 1828.

"I. Whereas it has been found that stripes with a rattan are a very unequal mode of punishment, varying with the size

of the instrument and the strength of the person using it, and occasioning serious bodily injury, far beyond the intention of the law; therefore the Governor in Council has enacted this regulation, to be in force from the date of its promulgation.

"II. The use of the rattan as an instrument of punishment is abolished.

"III. Henceforward, persons who under any regulation heretofore in force, would have been sentenced to receive stripes with a rattan, shall in lieu thereof be sentenced to receive lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails.

"IV. Five lashes with a cat-of-nine-tails shall be considered equivalent to one stroke of a rattan.

"V. The cat-of-nine-tails to be used shall be invariably supplied from the stores of government; and no other cat-of-nine-tails shall be used but such as shall be so supplied, nor shall any additional knot be tied, nor any new material introduced, nor any alteration made in any cat-of-nine-tails in use, by way of repair or on any pretence whatever; and any native officer offending herein shall be liable to be fined at the discretion of the criminal judge or magistrate, to whichsoever he may be subordinate."

In consideration of the long and faithful services of Subadar Mahomed Surwar, formerly of the 1st regiment of Light Cavalry, the government were pleased, under date the 20th June, 1809, to "present him with a palankeen, and an allowance of seventy rupees per mensem, for the maintenance of that equipage, as a mark of their approbation of his services, and further to reward them by directing that the amount of his pay should be continued as a pension for life to his nearest heir on his decease." This liberal pension was after some years increased, and he was also "presented with a horse and horse allowance of forty-two rupees per mensem."

The Madras *Government Gazette* (1826) contains an account of the presentation of a sword and horse to Subadar

Major Mahomed Ghouse, on public parade, in addition to sixty cawnies of land for three lives, a palankeen, and an allowance of twenty pagodas per month for his own life and that of his nearest heir. The sword bore the following inscription :

"Presented by the Government of Fort St. George to Subadar Major Mahomed Ghouse, of the Hon'ble the Governor's Body-Guard, in testimony of its approbation of the zealous, faithful, and active services of that officer during a period of forty-five years, and for his prompt and gallant conduct in defending the Most Noble the Marquis Cornwallis from a desperate attack upon his life, by a party of Mysore horse, in camp near Bangalore, in the year 1791."

The government conferred a further mark of their approbation on Subadar Major Mahomed Ghouse. In addition to the rewards already assigned him, for his long, zealous, and faithful service, by granting him the privilege of using the *nobut* in the Company's territories, together with the honorary symbols of that privilege, and its appropriate establishment :—

"On the 22nd October, 1828, the ceremony of conferring the nobut took place, at the Government Gardens. The Governor's body-guard, with the garrison band, the Commander-in-Chief's escort, and a considerable body of troops, European and native, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Oglander, H. M's. 26th regiment, attended. The Governor, accompanied by the Commander-in-Chief, and the other members of council, the general staff of the army, &c., and in presence of a splendid assembly, in the hall of the banquetting room (crowds of natives occupying the grounds, bridge, and opposite bank of the river), proceeded to the terrace in front of the banquetting room, when the Subadar-Major was conducted by Mr. Clive, the chief secretary, and Major Harris, the town major, through the square of troops, and up the stairs of the grand entrance, to the Governor, who rose to receive him, and advancing a few paces, addressed him. (Speech omitted.)

"Mr. Lushington then read the General Order in Persian, a language rendered more familier to Mahomed Ghouse from his residence with Sir J. Malcolm in Persia.

"Two small silver drums, the insignia of the honor, richly ornamented with scarlet velvet and gold fringe, were then handed to the chief secretary and the town major, by whom they were placed on the shoulders of Mahomed Ghouse, and, in that position were gently tapped two or three times by the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief with silver drum-sticks prepared for the occasion: an honorary dress was next brought by an attendant on silver salvers, and delivered to Mahomed Ghouse by the Governor; and then a medal, with an appropriate inscription, was by the Commander-in-Chief placed on the neck of the Subadar. The bands then struck up a martial air, and the Governor, Commander-in-Chief, members of council, and others, shook hands with Mahomed Ghouse, congratulating him on the occasion. The gallant veteran also received the additional gratification of a salutation in the eastern style from Major-General Sir John Doveton, with whom he had served in several campaigns against the enemy. A *feu-de-joie* was then fired, and the Subadar having descended the steps and mounted a superbly caparisoned horse, rode a short distance round and amongst the assembled crowds, and then returned and placed himself in the centre of the square, while the troops marched past and saluted the Governor.

"This native veteran had served forty-seven years in the army of the Company. The first distinguished instance of his prompt and steady gallantry was in defending the person of Lord Cornwallis, in the war of 1791. His firm attachment to the Government was conspicuous in the active part which he took in 1806; and he has since continued to perform all the duties of a gallant, obedient, and faithful soldier."

The first mention made of a British subsidiary force at Hyderabad was that under Colonel Smith, in 1766, which

co-operated with Nizam Ali against Hyder; but in consequence of some differnce which subsequently occurred it was withdrawn, hostilities commenced, and the Nizam's army was defeated by Colonel Smith at Trincomalee.

In 1788, a treaty was concluded with the Nizam by Lord Cornwallis, in consequence of which a subsidiary force was again placed at his disposal; and in the campaign against Tippoo, in 1791, the British were joined by a body of troops under Secunder Jah, the then Nizam. This alliance was again broken off on Sir John Shore refusing to assist His Highness when attacked by the Mahrattas, on which occasion he had recourse to General Raymond.

The British force at Hyderabad was established on nearly its present footing in 1798, when the Resident, Captain Kirkpatrick, by the instructions of Marquis Wellesley, laid before the Nizam the plan of an alliance, offensive and defensive by which he was to be guaranteed from the attacks of all his enemies, and a subsidiary force estabished near his capital, on the condition, however, of the immediate disbanding of the corps under French command. A force consisting of six battalions, and a body of artillery, under Colonel Roberts, accordingly arrived at Hyderabad, when seeing that the Nizam still hesitated to fulfil that part of the treaty relating to the disbanding of the troops, Colonel Roberts cut short all discussion by marching up to the French cantonment, which he surrounded, when 14,000 men of which it was composed, dreading at once an encounter with the English, and dissatisfied on account of the arrears due to them, mutinied against their officers and laid down their arms.

Since this time a British force has always been maintained at Hyderabad. Although this force is in immediate charge of the officer in command at Hyderabad, it is under the control of the Resident, who can order it out when he deems fit.

THE GOORKHAS.

In the fourteenth century a tribe of Rajpoots, expelling the former Tibetan possessors, established themselves in a broad, fertile valley, lying between the lower or southern and the northern range of the Himalayas. They soon adopted the religion of Hindostan; became brave, reliant and enterprising, and, while gallantly defending their northern frontier from various enemies, undertook the great but fruitless enterprise of conquering China. At the beginning of this century Lord Minto, the Governor-General, found them invading the districts of Bootwul and Seoraj, in Oude; and, on our resisting, they attacked and murdered in cold blood a police force in May 1814. Lord Moira, the next Governor, took strong measures against them, and sent on their western frontier 6,000 soldiers, on the east 3,500, and also two central columns to move on the capital, Khatmandoo; in all 22,000 men and 60 guns were employed in the campaign; but the enemy was agile and valiant. At Kalungah General Gillespie lost many officers and men, and was shot through the heart. At the second assault 680 soldiers fell in the breach, and not till he had reduced his garrison of six hundred to seventy, did the Goorkha Chief abandon this fort. At other points Generals Martindell and Ochterlony were foiled. The active mountaineers took from General Marley two whole detachments, with guns and stores, and General Wood was repulsed in an attack on the stockaded position of Jeetpoor.

So the campaign of 1814-15 ended disastrously for the English; their reputation for invincibility received a rude check; the impressible nationalities of India transferred their admiration from the men of the sea to the men of the hills; and another series of defeats would have had the effect of bringing into the field against us the great forces of the Mahrattas and Pindarees. But in the spring of 1815, Ochterlony carried every Goorkha position in the west as far as the fort of Malown, which soon surrendered, and Gardiner occupied

the lofty district of Almorah. The Council of the Goorkhas would now have made peace and received a Resident, but the fiery Ameer Singh and his sons urged on the war. The Ghowrea Ghât pass was rendered impregnable; but over another rugged ascent Ochterlony led his troops, turned the flank of the hostile position, advanced on Mukwanpore, within fifty miles of the capital, and had carried its outworks, when the enemy made peace, March 2, 1816.

Since then these people, notwithstanding many temptations to the contrary, have ever maintained amity with perfect fidelity. The direct advantages of the war were the mountain provinces of Kumaon and Gurhwal; but a greater benefit was the early and effectual detachment of such brave tribes from the machinations of the unstable and perfidious princes of India. In the mutiny they did us "knights' service;" among other exploits they defeated a large body of the rebels at Azimgurh, September 2, 1857, and at the close of the year Jung Bahadur of Nepaul, with ten thousand of this soldiery, assisted in quenching with blood what was left of the desperation of the Sepoys. There are no better fighting men in the East, and among the numerous races that owe allegiance to the Empress of India, there are none on whose devotion she could rely with greater confidence.

MILITARY CAMPS.

An abler pen is requisite to give an accurate description of the *cortege* that followed troops on a march in the olden times. "The rear guard are awaiting the removal of the camp, some with folded arms, a perfect illustration of the spirit of patience; others smoking a consolatory pipe; a few crouching round the expiring embers of the nocturnal fires. A chorus of horrid gurgling sounds, proceed from the throats of camels indignant at the heavy burdens imposed upon them; some laden with grain and supplies for the camp; others with a formidable amount of baggage. Tents of various sorts, shapes and sizes; tables, large, small, round, square and oblong; sofas, good, bad,

and indifferent; chairs which had evidently passed through the ordeal of many previous marches, some bereft of arms, others destitute of legs, and not a few minus a seat. Dilapidated chests of drawers, and every imaginable variety of trunk, box, bag and basket, &c., capable of receiving odds and ends, utilities and rubbish, the omnium gatherum of a marching regiment; herds of buffaloes, bullocks, and ponies, bearing their share of the common burden, and laden also with the culinary apparatus of the camp. Hackeries, weighed down with a heavy cargo of goods; banghywallahs or bearers of boxes called petarrahs, for carrying refreshment, and suspended by ropes to each end of a broad bamboo borne over the shoulders; troops of grasscutters, with their wretched tattoos, or ponies; syces or grooms, and other useful appendages to a cavalry corps; the dhobees or washermen of the regiment; and a dingy-looking tribe of bheesties or water carriers, adorned with mussuks or skins in which the water is conveyed, slung over their shoulders. In addition to these a train of servants, attendant on their masters; and the bazar people, interspersed with the camp equipage. In India when troops are ordered to march, every requisite article of consumption accompanies the army or detachment moving, as the villages or small towns furnish a very insufficient supply for the numerous train; grain, oxen, sheep, goats, poultry—in fact all things under the head of provisions—must be procurable in the camp bazar, which is a most amusing and motley assemblage. The camp followers very far exceed the number of fighting men."

Hall, in his work, "Scenes in a Soldier's Life," published in 1848, gives us a sketch of an Indian army on the line of march. "It materially differs," says he, "from that of one in England, where the soldier, surrounded by countrymen and friends, halts at some town in the same day, weary enough, I dare say; still there is a billet, a bed, and a comfortable meal, although he has often a long way to go ere he finds out his resting-place

However, the march in the field proves a very different scene. Picture the bustle, confusion, and excitement of an army on the march, being preceded by the skirmishers and advance guards, accompained by the Quartermaster-General, who, in the most systematic manner, on the arrival at the destined encampment, proceeds to calculate the relative distances required for each corps and department, and allots it to the parties attached from each regiment, for their further division. They form practical arrangements, measure the necessary distance for each individual and tent, marking the spot, and awaiting the arrival, which quickly follows. The main body reaches the ground, and each corps marches at once to its quarters. The individual to the site of his palace for the day. Shortly comes the numerous train of baggage carried by camels, elephants, mules, horses, asses, bullocks, carts, &c., &c., many thousands in number, and followers far exceeding the number of troops. The tent and its baggage arrive together and all is prepared to "pitch camp." A signal is given, and as if it were by magic, a town, a fort, and a stronghold is formed in a few minutes. Guards are mounted, pickets arranged, and sentries placed, and all is quiet and settled for the day. The commissariat proceeds to kill the cattle, and issue the provisions. The baggage cattle are all sent out to graze under strong guards. The bazars (one to each corps) open their stores of merchandize, and expose it for sale. The authorities at the head are engaged in the arrangement of the objects in view; emissaries sent out; chiefs are received and negotiated with for the supply of provisions; the weary soldier, after smoothing down for his domestic comfort his parlour of twenty-one inches by six feet, lulled by the aid of that refreshing genius, sleep, beguiles the long dreary hours of the day, filled with anxiety, and overpowered oftentimes with the intense heat, rendered more so by the trifling protection under canvas. At length comes the night, and every precaution having been taken, all is prepared

for a fresh start; the cattle are placed in front of their to-morrow's load, each soul dissolves into that earthly heaven, which soon relieves the mind from the world's anxiety and care; at the dead of night is heard the trampling of the patrols carefully visting the guards and pickets, and the reliefs cautiously challenged by the watching sentries. And shortly after midnight are heard the shrill trumpets and bugles arousing the tired soldier from the midst of perhaps dreams of the happy hours of boyhood and home. The sound carries with it a volume of directions; and in a few minutes all is again confusion yet regularity is there—all on tip-toe of bustle—yet all is steady, and each at his place. The camp appears as one blaze of fire from the darkness of the night, and bushes of piles of brushwood collected, being fired to give light to enable the packing and loading to be carried on; and should you stray a dozen yards perchance it will take you half an hour to find your place again. And I have often seen, from the dream of the sleeper to the movement off the ground of more than 20,000 souls and cattle, not more than half an hour elapse. Long ere day dawns, all are again on the march; the keen morning air striking chilly through the wearied soldier, disturbed from refreshing sleep, and forced to trudge along an unknown path; all passes on in silence, nothing is heard, save the neighing of horses, and the heavy measured tread of the moving mass of men; line after line of connected camels and cattle move on, carefully guarded and guided by the troops and followers, each eye heavy from broken rest, and looking anxiously for the opening of the distant horizon to admit the day and distribute the welcome rays of the sun, which at first are pleasant in the extreme, but ere a few hours are passed, become even more oppressive than the midnight air. All this it is which has so much astonished the natives of distant lands and placed our system at the top of the tree."

The following will give our readers an idea of what was considered a first rate military camp entertainment, in 1792:—

"About 76 persons sat down each day (for three days) to a table abundantly furnished, with a well chosen variety of the best viands, and as ample a supply of fruit and vegetables, as if we had been within a mile of Leadenhall market. Horse racing gave an appetite for breakfast; and cricket, trap-ball, cockfighting and ninepins occupied the other hours, which were not employed at the festive board. Dinner was served at 3 o'clock and the *bottle* sat with the sun. Every person cheerful, not one intoxicated—the light of the moon was sufficient for the sport of the Roundabout, of which almost every one partook by turns till 8 o'clock, when each retired to his tent or *bungaloe*." This took place at Saloor Pettah, on the 4th September, 1792, and gives a picture of how our grandfathers managed such things as public dinners in those days. Dinner at 3—and Roundabouts at 7!

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PRESS OF THE UPPER PROVINCES.

THE English press of the Upper Provinces dates as far back as 1822; and the native press we believe is of considerably shorter existence. Both European and Native have, however, within this period risen to such importance in the statistics of India, that we think a brief sketch of the past and present state of the European press in those provinces will not be uninteresting.

The first printing press set up was at Cawnpore by Mr. Samuel Greenway, who was succeeded by his son, Mr. W. Greenway, in 1822. The *Cawnpore Advertiser* was published there. Subsequently, in 1828, another newspaper was attempted at this press under the title of the *Omnibus*, but it lived only through a few numbers. It was a small and not very sightly quarto sheet, and from the first gave no promise of protracted existence. The Calcutta papers were then the only organs of intelligence in the Upper Provinces, and heavy as were the rates of subscription and postage, there were few persons who did not contrive to see some one of the daily papers. Politics and Home news were then discussed and commented on with a great deal more earnestness than they are at the present day, notwithstanding that the news was six or seven months old; increased rate of transit seems to have affected the public taste the contrary way, and European intelligence at the present day holds but a secondary place in the minds of the European community, while the importance of events in India during the last forty-five years have forced into greater notice local subjects obtained for it, what it should always have occupied, the primary place of interest in the minds of the governing body.

An offshoot from the Cawnpore press was established at Meerut in 1830, and in 1831 the *Meerut Observer* was published at that press. This journal had for some time previously, (from 1827 we believe) been carried on in manuscript. It was edited by Capt. H. Tuckett, of the 11th Light Dragoons; he was assisted by Capt. N. Campbell of the Horse Artillery, who wrote nearly all the articles on military affairs which appeared in that spirited little journal. The military measures of Lord Wm. Bentinck were keenly opposed in Capt. Campbell's articles, and though seemingly unnoticed for a time by the head of the Government, an opportunity which presented itself afterwards was seized, whereby the arm of power was wielded, and Capt. Campbell felt its blow. For a dispute with his commanding officer, for which, though in the wrong, he would have been amply punished by a reprimand, Capt. Campbell was removed from his troop. The world saw and judged the cause. Subsequently the *Observer* was edited by Lieut. Hutchins, Mr. Whiffen and others. It afterwards fell into the hands of Mr. H. Cope, then a man of great promise, and subsequently the editor of the *Delhi Gazette* and still later of the *Lahore Chronicle*. The press also changed proprietorship and became the property of Mr. Cope. The *Meerut Universal Magazine*, or as it was familiarly called *Mum*, was commenced at the *Observer* press in 1835. It was a monthly magazine, and spiritedly conducted for some time, but ceased to exist in 1837. Mr. Lang afterwards endeavoured to resuscitate the magazine, but after two attempts abandoned the undertaking.

Colonel (then Capt.) Pew, Dr. Ranken and Mr. John Taylor, all residents of Delhi, joined by a few European and native gentlemen, considered the imperial locality quite as likely to afford profitable work, and extensive circulation to a paper as Meerut and Agra, and soon after the birth of the *Agra Ukbar*, the *Delhi Gazette* was ushered into the world, in 1833. It remained for several years in a fluctuating condition, edited alternately by Capt. Pew, Mr. Hollings, and Col. R. Wilson,

then of the Palace Guards, and others ; when the Afghanistan campaign gave it an impetus as rapid as it was profitable, and by the commencement of the year 1846, under the editorial management of Mr. Cope, it had attained as a half weekly a circulation of 1892, exceeding that of any other paper in India.

Besides the presses at Cawnpore and Meerut Mr. W. Greenway had an establishment at Agra (in 1838) where he set up a paper, called *Greenway's Agra Journal*, which was very respectably conducted for the time it lasted. This press was also employed in the publication of vernacular school books in the Hindoostanee language.

The sensation caused by the appearance of the *Meerut Observer* induced Dr. John Henderson to start a press at Agra in 1831, whence issued the first number of the *Agra Ukbar* in 1832, as a native paper in the Persian character; his chief object being to give a correct report of the cases tried in the civil and criminal courts. A few month's trial showed that the experiment was not likely to succeed ; but he was not a man to be put down by trifles, and so he converted the paper into an English one in November of that year. Its exterior was poor indeed, and until Mr. Henry Tandy became editor, it was in rather a sickly state. The talents and wit of that gentleman soon gave it a place among the leading journals of India, and he was moreover well supported by the members of the civil service in all parts of the country. His death in 1840 was the signal for the decline of the paper. Two relations of his, Messrs. A. and P. Saunders, succeeded him in the editorial chair ; but both soon followed him to the grave ; neither of them possessed a tithe of the talent of Mr. Tandy. The press was then sold to Mr. Grisenthwaite. Blunders, actions for libel and other tokens of a sinking journal at last wrecked the *Ukbar*, and the entire establishment fell into the possession of the Agra and U. S. Bank, to whom the proprietors were at the time under pecuniary obligations. Capt. MaçGregor, the

secretary, ever energetic and active where the interests of his employers were concerned, would not allow the press to remain unprofitable, and brought out the *Agra Chronicle*, which he kept alive till the press was purchased by the proprietor of the *Delhi Gazette*; the *Agra Messenger* published by the press under the editorial management of Mr. Mawson at the Agra press, was not an indifferent substitute for the well conducted *Agra Ukbar*; it however flourished as a branch paper of the *Delhi Gazette* till the mutiny of 1857, when on the destruction of the materials of the *Delhi Gazette* press at Delhi, it took the name of the Delhi paper. The press was removed to Delhi in 1859, and subsequently to Agra, where it continued to be published.

In 1850 or '51, a magazine of great promise under the title of *Saunders' Magazine* was started at Delhi at the *Gazette* press; it had an existence of about two years. Men of great talent were liberally paid to be contributors to its pages, but notwithstanding it was found an unprofitable concern and was discontinued. At the same time but at a different station, Agra, *Ledlie's Miscellany* sprang up, and soon obtained great excellence and support. This magazine afterwards passed into the hands of Mr. Gibbons of the *Mofussilite* press, and after a short existence was discontinued.

At Delhi besides the *Gazette* there was printed for some time before the mutiny and afterwards till about 1864, a monthly journal under the name of the *Delhi Sketch Book*, changed afterwards to *the Delhi Punch*, under the parentage of Mr. Wagentreiber. This as its name denoted was a humorous publication. It possessed much merit, the illustrations were good, though its letter-press was indifferent.

Besides the *Messenger* there was a press in the vicinity of Agra, which rose out of the anxious wish of the missionaries of the Church Mission to make the Secundra Orphan School useful to the public as well as to its inmates. It was started

under the management of Mr. W. Greenway. The establishment was soon, owing to the unremitting care of its missionary managers, in a flourishing condition, and was extensively patronised by the Government of the N. W. Provinces. Mr. Longden was then Superintendent. The *Agra Government Gazette*, the reports of the sudder and zillah courts, and in fact all the Government work was done at the Secundra press. During the mutiny this press, was destroyed by the mutineers. It was however resuscitated at Allahabad in 1858 under Government patronage, and subsequently transferred to the Government. It is now called the official press and all the Government work is done at it. The operations of this press are very extensive and embrace type-casting, stereotyping, binding and machine printing.

At Agra, previous to the mutiny, a religious monthly paper was published under the title of the *Secundra Messenger*. This was for a time extinguished during the stirring events of 1857, but was revived at Lahore in 1861.

After the removal of the *Observer* press, Meerut continued "benighted" for a period of several years, when Mr. Lang established the *Mofussilite* press on an extensive scale in 1846. The *Mofussilite* had been started in Calcutta as a literary weekly paper and had gained considerable favor with the public as a journal of great merit and capacity. It began its career in the mofussil just previous to a time of great excitement and interest, when the existing journals of the N. W. Provinces were clutched at (we cannot use a better word) with avidity by all classes of readers, in consequence of the important intelligence they contained regarding Afghanistan, Persia, Scinde and particularly the Punjab. This last mentioned portion of India was then on the eve of a revolution, and its approach was looked upon by all as inevitable. The *Mofussilite* was started as a newspaper of the same size as the *Delhi Gazette*, and the ability and vivacity which were displayed in the writings of

the editor, soon placed his journal high in the scale of mofussil journalism. The press was removed to Agra in 1853 or 1854, where it continued till 1860, when it returned to its original station at Meerut. Throughout the mutiny the *Mofussilite* was published in the Agra Fort and was an useful organ for disseminating official information. Since Mr. Lang's death, and even for some time before, the journal had lost a great deal of its former vigor and respectability. It was afterwards purchased by the proprietors of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, and was merged in that publication.

At Meerut, in addition to the *Mofussilite*, there was started in 1840 an advertising medium under the title of the *Delhi Advertiser*. This was afterwards in 1852 enlarged and made into a newspaper by its proprietor, Mr. Copping of the Delhi Bank. In the following year it was still further enlarged and became the *Indian Times*, and was printed till 1856 when the press was seized and sold. From its ruins Mr. David, the enterprizing dawk-gharrie proprietor, raised a job press which continued in active operation till the proprietor's demise.

At Allahabad Messrs. Greenway had a branch of the Cawnpore establishment, which was opened for business in 1836. From this press was issued the *Central Free Press* journal, the career of which was suddenly brought to a close by the entire destruction by fire of the press bungalow in 1837.

The American Presbyterian missionaries have been most active in extending the advantages of printing establishments in the upper provinces. They had extensive presses at Mirzapore, Allahabad, and Loodiana. The last named press which had been established in September 1836, was destroyed by fire in 1847, but speedily placed on an efficient footing by the liberality chiefly of the British public. During the mutiny it again suffered; some of the rabble managed to break in and destroy a great portion of the material, which was however replaced by a fine inflicted by the officials on the destroyers.

At the second named station, Allahabad, the missionaries established a press in 1839, and went so far as to add type-founding to their other operations. They devoted their exertions chiefly to the printing of works required by them in their sacred vocation, and have done much towards fixing the character of Hindee, Goormookhee, and Devanagree letters. This press was partially destroyed by the mutineers in 1857; it has since been resuscitated and made over to some native converts, to be worked by them for the benefit of the mission.

At Mirzapore the Church Missionary Society have a press for the work of the mission. At this press is published a small monthly newspaper called the *Khwar-i-Hind* or *Friend of India*, in English and Romanized Hindi. The journal has generally an illustration of some missionary subject, or a portrait of an Indian celebrity.

In 1847 or 1848 Colonel Pew, and some others interested in the local bank, established a press at Benares, and started a newspaper called the *Benares Recorder*. The paper was continued about two years, but could never be said to be in a flourishing condition.

At Benares, after the dissolution of the *Recorder* press, Dr. Lazarus opened a small press in 1849, principally for printing the labels of his Medical Hall. By degrees this press extended its operations till now it is one of the completest of English and vernacular presses in India. It has its stereotyping, type-founding, binding, ruling and machine printing.

In 1848 the Mirzapore press published a magazine with the title of the *Benares Magazine*, under the editorial management of some of the missionaries of the Church Mission and of Dr. Ballantyne, then the Principal of the College. This publication was discontinued in 1849.

The Hills used to boast of three presses. One was established by Mr. Mackinnon of the Brewery at Mussoorie, in

1859 or 1860. From this press issued a weekly paper called *The Hills*, conducted for some time by Capt. Begbie, and then by Mr. Mackinnon, Junior. In consequence of the demise of the latter gentleman, the press was sold to Mr. G. B. Taylor, who carried on the paper for some time, but it was eventually given up. At Simla Dr. McGregor established a press, and published a weekly paper in 1849 called the *Mountain Monitor*, which lived but a short time and did little credit to its parent. That gentleman also tried a medical and literary periodical, which ran on an irregular course for a few numbers, and of which little can be said that is favorable. This press was afterwards, in 1850, sold to the Lawrence Asylum at Sonawar, and is now employed to teach the lads of that refuge the rudiments of printing. Another press was started at Simla under the direction of Mr. Charde, at which the *Simla Advertiser* in English, and the *Simla News* in Ordoo and English, were published. Besides this there have been two or three attempts to start a good newspaper; one by Mr. Jephson in 1853, when the *Military Gazette* appeared, but this only existed a very short time. Mr. Moor in 1863 brought out the *Himmalayan Star*, which also had but a short existence.

The present Thomason College Press at Roorkee was commenced at Meerut in 1848; it was afterwards removed to Simla, and employed in printing the results obtained at the Magnetic Observatory there. In 1850 it was taken to Umballa, where it continued till January, 1852, when it was transferred to the college. It is a Government press, and its work consists chiefly of elementary and other works in connection with the college and the Government. It has a department for lithography, and also one for wood engraving, and some of the finest specimens of work in each of these branches are produced at this press.

CHAPTER XXVII.

IMMORALITY.

DRUNKENNESS, gambling and profane swearing were almost universally practised. The public journals testify to the absence of "decency and propriety of behaviour" in social life. In December, 1780, one of them complains that "Europeans of all ranks" ordinarily made Christmas festivities a "plea for absolute drunkenness and obscenity of conversation, &c., that is, while they were able to articulate at all;" and urged that respectable men ought not to subject their wives to such impure and injurious associations. Another paper, in 1788, complained of "a very general depravity of conversation and manners, both in mixed and male societies," such as he "hoped, for the honor of human nature, was not the case in other countries."

The following "caution" appears in the advertising columns of the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 23rd February 1797:—"A certain person who made her appearance among the company in the auditory on the first night of performance, is desired to take notice that in future she will not be permitted to remain in the house should she be so ill advised as to repeat her vist—Theatre, Wheler Place."

As an evidence of the morality of the day, we insert an advertisement of a house for sale by the auctioneers, Faria, Williams and Hohler, in 1803:—"A garden house and ground, situate at Taltolah Bazar, which to any gentleman about to leave India, who may be solicitous to provide for an Hindoostanee female friend, will be found a most desirable purchase," &c.

If drunkenness was introduced amongst the natives of Bengal through the influence of European example, that effect was produced very early. The oldest prints complain loudly of

the number of arrack shops every where set up, and of the difficulty of obtaining domestic servants, whose sobriety could be relied upon.

Nearly all the unmarried Europeans—and few were married in those days—lived in acknowledged concubinage with native women. In 1810, a work, called *The East Indian Vade Mecum*, was published by Captain Thomas Williamson. It was intended to contain a compendium of information valuable to persons about to settle in India, and was dedicated to the Honorable Court of Directors of the East India Company, as designed particularly to be a guide to young gentlemen in their service. In this work concubinage is reguarded as a matter of ordinary necessity, and advice is given as to the female establishment a young man should set up, its proper cost, etc. The impossibilty of marriage with English women is shown, by the declaration that an English lady could not be landed in India, "under respectable circumstances throughout, for less than £500;" and the connexions recommended are justified by the statement that "the number of European women to be found in Bengal and its dependencies cannot amount to two hundred and fifty; while the European male inhabitants of respectability, including military officers, may be taken at about four thousand."

A very curious trial is reported as having come off in the Calcutta Supreme Court in February, 1793. This was a suit in equity for an injunction against a bond, given as alleged by Mr. Yates the complainant to the late Mr. Woolley, on an illegal and void consideration. It appeared that Messrs. Yates and Woolley had been members of a club, formerly held at Selby's Tavern, called the *Every Day Club*. Some time in the year 1793, Mr. Yates, who had dined at Mr. Woolley's, went in the evening to the club rather introxicated, and found there Mr. Woolly, Major Conran and some other members. Woolly claimed a knowledge of Yates, and asserted he had seen him at

Madras, and particularly that he had dined with him at Sir Thomas Rumbold's; this was denied by Yates, and after some controversy on the subject a wager was proposed and at length agreed to. The terms were 1000 gold mohurs, that Woolley had not seen Yates at Madras at the time mentioned; this was written down and signed by Yates, and witnessed by some gentlemen then present; but so little attention was given to the signed paper, that the document was either torn up or drowned in streams of claret; however it subsequently appeared that Woolley had seen Yates at Madras, and claimed the wager; at the same time commencing an action to recover the bet from Yates. Yates satisfied Woolley by signing a bond for 1000 gold mohurs, and after Woolley's death his executor, Balfour, proceeded against Yates for the amount of the bond. Yates instituted the present suit to have the bond delivered up and cancelled, considering that the absurd wager was contracted while the parties were all more or less introxicated and incapable of reasoning or judging what they were doing, the court decreed the prayer of plaintiff and the bond was cancelled.

A caution appears in the papers, dated Bandel, 10th November, 1804:—"Every person present at Bandel church while divine service is performing, from the 15th to the 24th current, are requested to behave with every due respect as in their own churches; on the contrary, they shall be compelled to quit the temple immediately, without attending the quality of person."

Religion was at a low ebb in Calcutta during the last century. Even in high quarters there was not only no respect to outward religious observances, but there was a want of even common morality. It was reckoned unfashionable to attend church on Sundays. Half a dozen palankeens or carriages (in 1790) were sufficient to convey all the persons who attended St. John's Church. There was only one service, and frequently after that service those who were present proceeded from the church to some native nautch.

An anecdote is recorded of Lord Wellesley when travelling up-country. He halted for a Sunday at a civil station, where he asked the Judge to read the church service. But he was informed there would be some difficulty, as there was not a bible in the station.

It would appear that the confraternity in charge of the "Blessed Lady of Rozary of Bandel," were not above doing a bit of trade occasionally in the usury line. In June 1804 we see an advertisement put forth, where they announce that Captain Grenier, having borrowed a certain sum of money from the priestly body of that church, for which he had mortgaged some jewels to the amount of Rs. 1200,—and "who not paying any interest thereon up to the present time, although being repeatedly called for to discharge both the principal and interest due from him"—the Escrivener announces that he will sell the jewels by auction, and if they do not realize the sum of principal and interest, that Captain Grenier, "his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns" will be held responsible to make good the amount.

The creatures, who sometimes set themselves up as teachers of morality, and inserted flaming advertisements of the scholastic and moral education they would afford to all children, male and female, entrusted to their charge, must have been of a very low stamp indeed, if we are to judge of the class from a single instance given in a trial held in the Supreme Court of Calcutta the 10th June, 1807. "A schoolmistress was brought up on a charge of "prostituting one of her scholars for money." The result of the trial was the "acquittal of the person indicted, from the indictment being erroneously laid; however the Chief Justice made a most serious address to the offender, stating the great infamy of her conduct, and the scandalous abuse of the character she had assumed—the mistress of a public school."

"How to sell an investment of Europe Goods to the best advantage." Such is the startling heading put to an advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 6th September, 1798. And the mode of procedure is thus detailed:—"Send your invoice book to the different shopkeepers, to enable them to make their calculations. Invite them to make proposals in writing, declaring upon your word and honor that you will not communicate their offers—promise one whom you may find would give a *very high price*, in order to oblige his friends and customers, that you may not sell without a reference to him, and in case you should be told that you may probably have an offer which will preclude all others, *viz.*, an offer to give one or two per cent. more than any of the proposals mentioned, you must assert in the most solemn manner that you will not receive such a one. Be very particular and pointed in this, or no direct offers will be made you. When you have seen all the proposals, you must send your banyan, with a verbal message to the person you may think most desirous of buying, (even if he be already the best bidder by five per cent.) and tell him to amend his offer; this will bring five per cent. more, and having worked him up to the highest, you must take care to let the offer be known—some person who has been laying by will then come forward and offer you two per cent. more. Should the party who had made the previous offer accuse you of breaking your word and honor, by communicating it, you must lay the blame on the banyan, and say you did not mean to do wrong." This is either a *hit* at some knavish transaction which had lately taken place, or is a skit against the system then pursued in houses of business, particularly auction and commission agencies. It is well that the advertiser did not put his name to the notice.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE POLICE.

One of the first orders is one requiring and commanding "all captains and masters of Portuguese ships and other vessels, to prevent their people from coming on shore before the hour of seven in the morning, or from remaining in the town after the hour of five in the evening," under the penalty of being kept in "strict custody and to suffer such other punishment as the circumstances under which they may be apprehended shall merit."

The following Police notice appears (in 1789) about breaking in horses on the public roads:—"Notice is hereby given that no horses will be allowed to be broke in upon the Esplanade or on the great roads leading across it after the 20th day of this month; it is therefore requested that gentlemen may take the trouble of explaining this regulation to their servants, that they carry their horses to the less frequented roads of Calcutta."

In consequence of their dissatisfaction at some Police regulations, respecting the number and fare of teekah palankeens and bearers, all the Calcutta teekah bearers struck work, and continued so for four days, from 22nd to 26th of May, 1827, at the end of which time, however, they began to think better of it and returned to their occupation.

Amongst other *improvements* from Europe, which had been introduced at the metropolis of Britsh India, was the art of picking pockets. A correspondent in a Calcutta paper states, that "ready money being the order of the day," he went to Tulloh's auction with a pocket-book containing a bank note for twenty rupees, which was abstracted by a person in the crowd.

On complaining to the auctioneer the latter consoled him by stating that a similar thing had happened to another gentleman a few days before, who had lost a bank note of 200 rupees; and a person present added his mite of consolation by assuring the complainant that he had had his pocket picked at Leyburn's, another auctioneer's, of a bank note of 150 rupees!

The Police, under date the 8th December, 1791, issued peremptory orders "that no retailers of spirituous and fermented liquors or intoxicating drugs will be allowed to keep their shops open for the sale of such drugs or liquors after sunset."

"Whereas various applications have of late" (so runs a proclamation, dated the 18th November, 1791,) "been made to the Superintendent of the Police by individuals (in consequence of the difficulty which they experienced in procuring silver coin,) to compel the shroffs to furnish silver in exchange for gold coin, and to punish them if they attempt in this exchange to value the gold mohur at less than what appears to have been its former market price, *viz.*, one arcot and fifteen sicca rupees; and whereas coercive measures, instead of alleviating, have a necessary tendency to increase the difficulty complained of: the Governor-General in Council has therefore determined that in future the sale of gold and silver coin shall be as free and unrestrained in every respect as the sale of gold and silver bullion; and that the gold coin which shall be offered for sale in exchange for silver, or the silver coin which shall be offered for sale in exchange for gold, shall be considered, in effect, as bullion, and the exchangeable value or price of each determined by the course of trade in the same manner as the price of every other commodity that comes into the market."

Mr. Edward Holland, formerly of the Council of Madras, and a few days Acting Governor, was apprehended in February, 1791, in consequence of an order from Government, by an officer and a party of sepoys, and sent on board the *Rodney* Indiaman to be conveyed as a prisoner to England.

A Police notice appears in 1793, stating that "the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to appropriate that piece of ground at the north-east corner of the Esplanade which is railed in for the use of the public, to serve as a walk, or place of resort for led horses. All persons are therefore requested to direct their *cises* to lead their horses for exercise within this enclosure."

A Police order was issued on the 13th May, 1800, notifying that from that date "no person whatsoever will be permitted to cover or thatch any messuage, dwelling-house, shop, shed, building or edifice, within the limits of the town of Calcutta, with mats, straw, grass, or other substance or materials of a like combustible nature." It was also ordered as a further preventive to fires, that from that date "no straw of the kind used for thatching houses will be suffered to be brought into the town of Calcutta, or bamboos or gurran sticks, mats, or other materials, of a like combustible nature, allowed to be collected together in any large quantity within the limits of the said town." All depots of such materials then existing were ordered to be removed within fifteen days, and all thatched buildings were ordered to be removed or recovered with more substantial and less inflammable roofing by the 1st of the following November.

Here is a strange advertisement, which we copy from the *Calcutta Gazette*, of April 1806:—"If the young savage who had lately the cruelty to knock down and trample on his aged father, a respectable man, does not instantly quit his father's house, a few friends of the old gentleman's are determined to take the proper steps for his immediate ejectment; and the writer of this engages to exhibit him, by name, to the contempt and indignation of the whole settlement. This hint, it is hoped, will be sufficient." No name is attached to the advertisement.

Garrison orders by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, 11th May, 1813.—"No person having dogs with them are to be allowed to come upon the Respondentia Walk or that

part of the Esplanade; and the sentries have received orders accordingly."

On the 29th November, 1809, the magistrate of the city issued a notice relative to the watering of the roads and streets; the residents were called upon to contribute for such roads as they wished to have watered. This was another move in the right direction to add to the comfort of the inhabitants.

Brahminee bulls, which had during a long period infested the streets of Calcutta, to the imminent danger of the inhabitants, were ordered in August 1815, to be expelled the city, and were sent over the river to the Howrah side. Several years afterwards, when the prejudices of the natives were not so much taken into consideration, these animals were utilized by being yoked to the municipal conservancy carts, where they were made to do duty instead of contract animals.

The following advertisement appears under date "Public Office," 31st March, 1795:—"Notice is hereby given, that a reward of two annas per head will be given for every pariah dog that may be killed within the boundary of Calcutta, between the 6th of April and the 1st of June next. It is requested that gentlemen will not permit their dogs to run loose about the streets during that period.—*George Oddy, Scavenger.*"

The slope of the glacis and the level of the Esplanade of Fort William, having been injured by the passage of several carriages, and roads having been made over the turf in various places, it was ordered that "in future no wheel carriage of any description, excepting such as belong to the Governor-General, the Chief Justice, the Commander-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme Court, or the Members of Council, will be permitted to pass over the turf of the Esplanade, from the great road leading from Calcutta to Sherman's Bridge, to that part of the glacis or esplanade situated between the Chowringhee gate sorties and the river. A chain of sentries has been posted for the purpose of enforcing this order."

In the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 1st September is the following:—"*Fort William, 31st August, 1792.*—Whereas the Governor-General in Council has received information that several evil-minded persons have entered into combinations for the purpose of extorting money, and have in many instances actually extorted money from several merchants and others in Calcutta, by arresting or threatening to arrest them under forged and pretended writs and warrants, and by making affidavits before the Judges of the Supreme Court, and therein swearing to pretended and fictitious debts, and by making false accusations before the said Judges or the Grand Juries of this settlement in order to procure writs and warrants against such merchants and others from whom such money is intended to be extorted, and by virtue of such writs or warrants to hold the said merchants and others to special bail, or for want of such bail to have them committed to prison; and whereas the Governor-General in Council is extremely desirous to suppress an evil so grievous to the natives, and so injurious to trade; His Lordship has therefore been pleased to determine, and proclamation is accordingly hereby made, that every person so offending shall be prosecuted by the Company's law officers and at the Company's expense with the utmost rigour. All persons aggrieved by such offenders are hereby directed to give information against them to the Superintendent of the Police, who will cause such offenders to be forthwith carried before one of His Majesty's Judges of the Supreme Court, or Justices of the Peace for this settlement, in order to their being dealt with according to law. (Signed) E. HAY, *Secretary to the Government.*"

CHAPTER XXIX.

SLAVERY.

THE Portuguese in the last century were the propagators of the slavery system, as the ruins of many fine places in the Sunderbunds testify. As late as 1760 the neighborhood of Akra and Budge-Budge was infested by slave ships, belonging to Mugs and Portuguese. The *East India Chronicle* for 1758 gives the following statement showing the origin of this slave system :—"February 1717.—The Mugs carried off from the most southern parts of Bengal 1800 men, women and children. In ten days they arrived at Arracan, and were conducted before the sovereign, who chose the handicraftsmen, about one-fourth of the number, as his slaves. The remainder were returned to the captors with ropes about their necks to market, and sold according to their strength, from 20 to 70 rupees each. They were by their purchasers sent to cultivate the land, and had fifteen seers of rice each allowed for their monthly support. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of Arracan are said to be natives of Bengal or descendants."

The slave trade, formerly carried on by Muscat, from Zanzibar to Scinde, in Hubshys and Abyssinians, was so considerable, that 600 young people, of whom three-fourths were girls, were imported into Kurrachee every year; Georgians were occasionally imported for the harems of the rich. The price of an Abyssinian girl was sometimes as high as 250 rupees; boys were sold at from 60 to 100 rupees. The slave trade was entirely abolished after Scinde came under British rule.

Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the kucherry or court house, and in 1752 we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees and four annas to the East India Company for such registry.

Slavery was at one time very prevalent in Calcutta, as advertisements in the papers of 1780 and later show. Here are a few notices of slave servants :—

" *Wanted.*—Two Coffrees, who can play well on the French Horn, and are otherwise handy and useful about a house, relative to the business of a consumer, or that of a cook ; they must not be fond of liquor. Any person or persons having such to dispose of will be treated with by applying to the printer."

" *Wanted.*—A Coffree slave boy ; any person desirous of disposing of such a boy, and can warrant him a faithful and honest servant, will please to apply to the printer."

" *To be sold.*—Two French Horn men, who dress hair and shave ; and wait at table."

" *Strayed.*—From the service of his mistress, a slave boy, aged 20 years or thereabouts ; pretty white, or colour of musty ; tall and slender ; broad between the cheek bones and marked with the small-pox. It is requested that no one, after the publication of this, will employ him, as a writer or in any other capacity, and any person or persons, who will apprehend him and give notice thereof to the printer of this paper, shall be rewarded for their trouble."

" *To be sold.*—A fine Coffree boy, that understands the business of a butler, kidmutgar and cooking. Price four hundred sicca rupees. Any gentleman wanting such a servant, may see him, and be informed of further particulars, by applying to the printer."

" *Strayed.*—From the house of Mr. Robert Duncan in the China Bazar, on Thursday last, a Coffree boy, about 22 years old, named Inday ; whoever brings back the same shall receive the reward of one gold mohur."

" *Slave Boys run away.*—On the fifteenth of October last two slave boys (with the letters V. D. marked on each of their right arms, above the elbow, named Sam and Tom, about eleven

years of age, and exactly of a size,) ran away, with a great quantity of plate, &c., &c., This is to request, if they offer their service to any gentlemen, they will be so kind as to examine their arms, keep them confined, and inform the owner. A reward of one hundred sicca rupees will be given to any black man, to apprehend and deliver them up. J. H. Valentin Dubois, Lieutenant. Chunar, *November* 5, 1784."

"*Eloped.*—On Monday last, a slave boy about fourteen years old, sallow complexion, broad lips, very knock-kneed, walks in a lounging manner, hair behind long and bushy had on when he eloped the dress of a kistmutgar, speaks good English, has rather an effeminate voice, went by the name of Tom; it is suspected that he has stolen many things. Whoever will give information, so that he may be apprehended, to Mr. Purkis, at No. 51, Cossitollah, shall be handsomely rewarded, if required. Whoever harbours the said slave-boy after this notice, will be prosecuted according to law.—*Calcutta, 6th March, 1789.*

"On Saturday morning ran away from the house lately occupied by the Rev. Mr. Blanchard, two Malay slave boys, after having taken with them a gold watch with a gold chain and seals, a gold snuff box, silver shoe and stone knee buckles, a purse consisting of about 40 ducatoons, and another 9 gold mohurs and several small monies, several pieces of Europe silks and velvets, and many more things, amounting to about 3,000 or 4,000 rupees. As these boys are supposed to have gone on board of a ship, it is herewith earnestly requested of all commanders of ships and vessels not to detain them, but give immediate notice of them to Mr. Motte. A reward of 300 sicca rupees will be given to any one who will bring these boys, or can with certainty point out their abode."

A strange advertisement appears for the recovery of a slave boy, named Dindarah, aged about fifteen years. The lad must have been harshly used, as he is said to have been "marked on the back and arms with the scars of a number of small burns;"

he had beside, at the time of his escape, "an iron ring on one leg." The gentleman who advertises for the slave does not give his name, but states that he is living at No. 1, Larkin's Lane, evidently some sea captain. A reward of fifty sicca rupees was offered for the recovery of the missing boy. Slavery must have been winked at by the authorities, or such a public transaction as this would never have been passed over without punishment.

"*Eloped*—A Malay slave boy, about five feet five inches high, his hair rather long, but not tied, speaks a little English; he went off in a pair of white long trousers and a shirt, without any waistcoat hat or shoes on. It is supposed he is either gone to Calcutta, or lies concealed in Calcapore, or some adjacent place, as he is a perfect stranger to the road, only having been in Bengal four months. Whoever will deliver him to the printer of this paper, shall be amply rewarded for their trouble. Gentlemen are earnestly requested to detain him, should he offer himself as a servant, and send him as above. His name is Wilks."

During the last century the generality of Europeans in Calcutta kept slave boys to wait on them at table. Slavery was a recognized institution, and as the following advertisement, taken from a Calcutta paper of 1781, shows, the trade was openly carried on even by persons holding holy orders:—"To be sold by private sale: Two Coffree boys, who play remarkably well on the French horn; about eighteen years of age; belonging to a Portuguese Padrie lately deceased. For particulars enquire of the Vicar of the Portuguese Church."

The most numerous class of slaves, were Bengalees, who had been sold in childhood by their parents in times of scarcity. Sir William Jones, in a charge to the Grand Jury at Calcutta, in 1785, described the miseries of slavery existing at that period, even in the metropolis of British India—"I am assured from evidence which, though not all judicially taken, has the strongest hold on my belief, that the condition of slaves within our

jurisdiction is, beyond imagination, deplorable; and that cruelties are daily practised on them, chiefly on those of the tenderest age and the weaker sex, which, if it would not give me pain to repeat and you to hear, yet for the honour of human nature I should forbear to particularize. If I except the English from this censure, it is not through partial affection to my own countrymen, but because my information relates chiefly to people of other nations, who likewise call themselves Christians. Hardly a man or a woman exists in a corner of this populous town, who hath not at least one slave child either purchased at a trifling price, or saved perhaps from a death that might have been fortunate, for a life that seldom fails of being miserable Many of you, I presume, have seen *large boats filled with such children, coming down the river for open sale at Calcutta.* Nor can you be ignorant that most of them were stolen from their parents, or bought, perhaps, for a measure of rice in a time of scarcity."

Selling natives and exporting them from the country as slaves to other parts of India not within British dominions, seem to have been common, for it was deemed necessary to issue a stringent order by the Government prohibiting such traffic in future:—"*Proclamation, dated 27th July, 1789.*—Whereas information, the truth of which cannot be doubted, has been received by the Governor-General in Council, that many natives, and some Europeans, in opposition to the laws and ordinances of this country, and the dictates of humanity, have been for a long time in the practice of purchasing or collecting natives of both sexes, children as well as adults, for the purpose of exporting them for sale as slaves in different parts of India or elsewhere; and whereas the Governor-General in Council is determined to exert to the utmost extent of the power and authority vested in him, in order to prevent such practices in future, and to deter, by the most exemplary punishment, those persons who are not to be otherwise restrained from committing the offence; His Lordship hereby declares that all and every

person or persons subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, or in any respect to the authority of this Government, who shall, in future, be concerned directly or indirectly in the above mentioned inhuman and detestable traffic, shall be prosecuted with the utmost rigour in the Supreme Court at the expense of the Company; and if a British-born subject, shall be forthwith ordered to Europe, or if such person or persons be not subject to the court's jurisdiction, he or they, upon information being given to the magistrate of the place or district in which the offence shall have been committed, shall be apprehended by him, and kept in confinement, to be dealt with according to the laws of the country. And that no one may plead ignorance hereof, the superintendents of the Police for the town of Calcutta, and the magistrates of adauluts in the several parts of the country, are hereby required to give immediate notice of this Proclamation, in such manner as shall render the knowledge of it universal to persons of all descriptions, and to repeat the same on the first day of January in every year. They are further directed to pay the strictest attention to the regulations contained in it, and to take the most active steps in their power to enforce them. And that all persons offending against this Proclamation may be brought to punishment for the same, and the unhappy sufferers rescued from the misery, a reward of one hundred sicca rupees hereby offered for the discovery of every such offender, to be paid on his conviction before the Supreme Court of Judicature; or before magistrate of the district; and of fifty rupees for the person of either sex who shall be delivered from slavery or illegal confinement in consequence of such discovery. The money will be paid to the informer or informers on their application to the secretary of Government, and on presenting to him a certificate of the conviction of the person or persons committing the offence of which such informer or informers made discovery. * * * * * And the master Attendant is hereby directed to give notice to all the native pilots, that, if they should pilot out any vessel having on board natives of this

description, knowing or believing them to be such, the privilege of piloting will be taken from them for ever, and their names and offence registered. And that no one may plead ignorance of this order, it is hereby directed that it be placed constantly in view at the Bankshall in the English and country languages."

From the many prohibitory regulations of the Bengal Government and the co-operation of the Foreign settlements, it was hoped that the detestable traffic of transporting children from the provinces as slaves had been entirely abolished; but not so, for we find that a Telingah vessel was, at the close of May, 1791, stopped near Ingelee, and seven and twenty unfortunate wretches, boys and girls of different ages, were found on board.

Some persons proceeding from India to England having been guilty of selling or otherwise disposing several free inhabitants of the Indian provinces, as slaves at St. Helena, an advertisement was put forth, in 1794, by the Government of India, proclaiming such practice to be a criminal offence, and as such would be visited with the most rigorous punishment. It was also notified that in order to prevent the sale or disposal in other lands of free natives of India, all persons in whose service natives should embark from Bengal for England, would be required "to give good and sufficient security against such natives being sold or given away as slaves, at St. Helena, or at any other place or settlement during the voyage to Europe."

When the indignation of the British Parliament was directed against slavery in the West Indies, the Calcutta newspapers declared that "the barbarous and wanton acts of more than savage cruelty daily exercised upon slaves of both sexes in and about Calcutta by the native Portuguese," made it most desirable that the system of bondage in the East also should be brought under the restraints of the legislature.